The Crozier and the Keys

THROUGH XVIII CENTURIES

J. SANDERS REED

The Crozier and the Keys

A COMPANION VOLUME TO

THE BISHOPS' BLUE BOOK

BY THE

REV. J. SANDERS REED

AUTHOR OF "THE BISHOPS' BLUE BOOK," ETC.

"Ordo episcoporum ad originem recensus, in Joannem stabit auctorem."—TERTULLIAN

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TO THE CHRISTIAN,
THE SCHOLAR, THE AUTHOR, THE DIVINE,
THE PRELATE,
MY REVERED FATHER IN GOD,
THE BISHOP OF CENTRAL NEW YORK,
CETTE MORGUE LITTÉRAIRE,
OF ECCLESIARCHS,
IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED, BY PERMISSION,
IN HIS NAME.

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TO THE READER

Some generous critics of "The Bishops' Blue Book" considered that it should be followed up by a companion volume. Much of the material for another bead-roll was on hand; and so "The Crozier and the Keys" has been fabricated.

Neither volume pretends to be exhaustive. I trust, however, that historical accuracy has been attained, wherever it should be expected.

I have nowhere attempted a biography; nor do I appear as an essayist. If I have indicated historical by-paths, or uncovered any ecclesiastical treasure-trove, I am content: I am only a chronicler, an epitomizer, if you choose, a *custos rotulorum*.

No formal argument has been endeavored; and yet, if I mistake not, the record transcribed establishes:

That episcopacy is immanent in the Church;

That the historic episcopate is independent of territorial jurisdiction;

That prelacy and popery are not convertible terms;

That episcopalianism and sacerdotalism are not equivalents;

That not all are bishops who are called bishops;

That ordination is not another name for consecration, that the diocese is not an expanded parish, and that the prelate is not a development of the presbyter.

To satisfy an expressed desire, references and authorities have been appended to certain chapters. A complete bibliography would have been impedient and superfluous.

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Part First

I

PAROCHIAL BISHOPS

Nennius, a writer of the IXth century, asserts that S. Patrick founded three hundred and sixty-five churches and consecrated three hundred and sixty-five bishops—a bishop to a church. The "Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland," by the Four Masters (a mosaic of extreme antiquity, parts of it dating back to the Vth century), attribute to the apostle of Ireland seven hundred bishops and seven hundred churches—a bishop to a church.

Bernard of Clairvaux, in his "Life of Malachy," bishop of Connor, elected primate of Armagh (1134), with whom he was on the most intimate terms, and from whom he had heard of the ecclesiastical affairs of Ireland, avers (chapter VII.) that almost every church had a bishop of its own.

"Bishops were very numerous in Ireland, and were in many instances ministers of single churches."—*Primate Colton's Visitation* (*xivth century*).

CHAPTER I

PAROCHIAL BISHOPS

At the opening of the VIIIth century the county of Antrim had, in one section of it, a bishop of Connor, a bishop of Kilroot, and, but twelve miles away, a bishop of Rashee. In one district of the county of Down we find a bishop of Downpatrick, a bishop of Bright (three miles southeast from Downpatrick), and a bishop of Raholp. In the same part of the county were also stationed a bishop at Maghera (nine miles southwest from Downpatrick), a bishop at Nendrum, and a bishop at Magh-Bile. Twenty-one bishops could have been visited within the bounds of the present diocese of Meath,[1] *viz.:* the bishops of Clonard, Duleek, Kells,

[1] Dr. W. D. Killen: Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. ii., 107; vol. i., 181 n. Also Reeves: Ecclesiastical Antiquities, pp. 128, 136, 142, 144, 148, 151, 154, 239, 246, 250. Cogan: Diocese of Meath, i., 5-7.

Trim, Ardbraccan, Dunshaughlin, Slane, Fore, Killare, Fennor, Dulane, Indenen, Magh-Breagh, and Stackaller, etc. There was also a bishop at Athcliath (Dublin), a bishop at Clondalkin, five miles distant, and one at Glendalough, in the same neighborhood.[1]

According to the census of Sir William Petty, the population of Ireland, in the XIIth century, was less than four hundred thousand ; and yet traces are to be found of at least three hundred bishops, or nearly a bishop to every thousand people.[2]

The synod of Rath-Bresail (1112) placed Ireland under twenty-three diocesan bishops and two archbishops. Had they all territorial jurisdiction ?

In the district formed by this synod into the diocese of Down, there had existed the bishoprics of Downpatrick, Bright, Raholp, Bangor, Maghera, Nendrum, Magh-Bile, etc.

Fourteen ancient bishoprics — Dublin,

[1] So Dr. Lanigan in his Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, vol. iii., p. 228.

[2] Bishop Mant : History of the Church of Ireland, i., 3. Killen : Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, i., 167.

Swords, Lusk, Finglass, Newcastle, Tawney, Leixlip, Bray, Wicklow, Ballymore, Clondalkin, Tallaght, and O'Murthy — were merged into the diocese of Dublin by decree of this synod.[1]

The see of Dromore contained three bishoprics: Dromore, Donaghmore, and Magheralin.[2]

The rural deaneries of Drogheda, Ardee, and Dundalk, which were added (1242) to the diocese of Armagh (Albert of Cologne, primate), had been bishoprics. And the bishop of Louth, of whom we find traces in the XIth century, must also have been a parochial bishop.[3]

Tuam was an archbishopric some time in the XIIIth century; and yet, under date of 1216, there is the record of the death of the bishop of Knockmoy, six miles distant; and, in 1241, of the death of the bishop of Enaghdum or Annadown, a few miles, in another direction, from the same Tuam. There were also bishops of Mayo, a small

[1] Ledwik, p. 82.

[2] Reeves: Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore, pp. 127, 306.

[3] Harris's Ware, i., 82. Harris's Ware's Bishop of Clogher.

village in county Mayo, "centuries after the rural bishoprics had generally merged by the decrees of the synod of Cardinal Paparo."[1]

In the same century there were at least nine bishops in county Roscommon—the bishops of Elphin, Ballytober, Assylin, Ardcarne, Kilbarry, Clontusket, Ogulla (?), Creerve, and Clooncraff.[2]

The diocese of Down, in its present extent, is a collection of smaller sees which have been reduced to the condition of parishes, and of districts which in primitive times were not assigned to any diocese. The same remark applies to Connor and most of the larger dioceses of Ireland.[3]

Iniscathy, an island of one hundred acres, at the mouth of the Shannon, had a bishop.[4]

There was also a bishop at Rathlin, a small island on the north coast of the county of Antrim. In 1861 the census put the population at four hundred and fifty-three

[1] D'Alton: History of Ireland, ii., 144.

[2] Dr. Killen: Ecclesiastical History of Ireland, i., 177.

[3] Reeves: Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore. Appendix, 123.

[4] Annals of the Four Masters, 19.

individuals.[1] At a provincial council, held 1324, it was decreed that "the small and poor bishoprics not exceeding £20, £40, £60 a year, and which were governed by mere Irish, should be united to the more eminent archbishoprics and bishoprics."

Jeremy Collier and Dr. William Bright quote Gervase (*Actus Pontif. Cantuar*) to the effect that Archbishop Theodore consecrated a bishop and put him at S. Martin's, a suburb of Canterbury, and that the line was continued until extinguished by Lanfranc, in the xith century.

Wilkins ("Concilia," i., 547) mentions rural bishops as in attendance at the synod at Kells, in Meath (1152), and that then it was ruled (Cardinal Paparo, papal legate, presiding) that, "on the death of village bishops and of bishops who possessed small sees in Ireland, there should be chosen to succeed in their stead arch-presbyters; and that their sees should be erected into so many heads of rural deaneries."

But these may have been *chorepiscopi*.

[1] Reeves: Ecclesiastical Antiquities, 249.

II

ASSOCIATED BISHOPS

"Diocesan episcopacy had not then (VIth century) been introduced into Ireland. . . . In other respects, too, customs prevailed with regard to the order unknown elsewhere. One of these was the association of bishops in groups of seven who lived together. Six such groups are mentioned in the Martyrology of Donegal, some of them said to be brothers."—*Olden's Church of Ireland* (1892).

"The bishop (Chad) said to him, 'Make haste to the church and cause the seven brothers to come hither.'"—*Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, IV. 3.

CHAPTER II

ASSOCIATED BISHOPS

In the British Museum the reader will find this record, in the original manuscript of Donall Albanach O'Froighthigh, written (1477) at Baile-in-Mointin: "Patrick erected seven churches in Cianachta."

In Tirechan's *Annotations* (the oldest extant history of S. Patrick, written within a century of his death), we read that "Patrick passed Shannon three times and completed seven years in the west quarter, and came from the plain of Tochuir to Dulo Ocheni and founded seven churches there." And again: "The seven sons of Doath—Cluain, Findglais, Imsruth, Colcais, Deruthmar, Culcais, and Cennlocho—faithfully made offerings to God and S. Patrick."

In an old Irish life of S. Briget, who died 525, it is recorded that, on one oc-

casion, at Tealagh, in the west of Leinster, seven bishops were her guests—"pious nobles."

Ængus the Culdee (of the IXth century), in his *Litany*, gives a list of one hundred and forty-one places in Ireland where the institution of seven bishops existed; and he invokes, among others:

"The seven bishops of '*Tulach na'n Epscop*,' or Tulach of the bishops;"

"The seven bishops of Drom Arbelaig;"

"The seven bishops in Tamhnach;"

"The seven bishops of Cluain-Hemain!"

And of the latter we have further information in the "Life of S. Forannan" (primate of Armagh, 832), where we are told that, after the council of Drumceatt, Columba was met by a large concourse of ecclesiastics, among whom the descendants of Cennaine, the aunt of S. Brigit, are alone enumerated, and among these "the seven bishops of Cluain-Hemain, now Clonown; and they are represented, in the Genealogy of the Saints in the "Book of Lecan," as seven brothers, the sons of the same brother."[1]

[1] Skene's Celtic Church, 25, 26. Todd's Life of S. Patrick 34.

In the Irish Calendar, at July 15th, we find mention of "seven bishops, sons of Finn, *alias* Fincrettan, of Drumairbealagh;" and, over against July 21st, this notice: "The seven bishops of Tamhnach Buadha; and we find seven bishops, the sons of one father, and their names and history among the race of Fiacha Singhdhe, son of Feidhlimimidh Reachtmhar, son of Tuathal Teacntmhar."

The learned editor of "Primate Colton's Visitation"(which was made in the XIVth century), notes four other groups of seven: "The Seven of Hy-Tuirtre"; "The Seven of Maghdola"; "The Seven of Glendaloch"; and "The Seven of Imsclothrann."

Summing up the evidence[1] on the subject, it would appear that anciently, as a consequence, perhaps, of S. Patrick's or-

[1] Dr. Reeves: Adamnan's Vita Columbæ (one of the most valuable contributions to the early ecclesiastical history of Scotland, which has been made during this present century) *passim*. Reeves: Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Down, Connor, and Dromore. Reeves: Primate Colton's Visitation. Skene: Celtic Scotland; and the authorities specified in the text.

dering, there were individual churches in Ireland that could boast of seven bishops, usually seven brothers selected from one family in the tribe; that the institution was based on the tribal system, which suffered no interference from another clan; and that sometimes every family had its own bishop.[1]

Bernard of Clairvaux, in his "Life of Malachy," primate of Armagh (1134), does not hesitate to say that "the holy see (Armagh) was held by hereditary succession. Nor did they permit any to obtain the episcopate save those who were of their own tribe or family. Though, as it sometimes happened, clergymen of the family failed, bishops of it never failed. In fine, eight married men, without ordination, though men of learning, preceded Celsus."

[1] Healy: Ancient Irish Church, p. 46.

III

TULCHAN BISHOPS

1571–1610

"There are three sorts of bishops: *my Lord Bishop*, *my Lord's Bishop*, and *the Lord's Bishop. My Lord Bishop* was in the time of Popery; *my Lord's Bishop* is now, when my Lord getteth the fat of the benefice, and the Bishop serveth for a portion out of the benefice, to make my Lord's right sure; and *the Lord's Bishop* is the true minister of the Gospel."—*Extract from sermon preached* (*February*, 1571-72), *at the inauguration of the first Tulchan bishop, by a disappointed candidate.*

"The moderator (David Dickson) craved liberty to expone what was meant by Tulchan bishops. It was a Scots word used in their common language. When a cow will not let down her milk, they stuff a calf's skin full of straw, and set it down before the cow, and that was called a Tulchan. So these bishops possessing the title and the benefice, *without the office*, they wist not what name to give them, and so they called them Tulchan bishops."—*Peterkin's Records of the Kirk* (*Edinburgh Assembly*, 1639), *p.* 248.

CHAPTER III

TULCHAN BISHOPS[1]

The fate of the Italian hierarchy in Scotland was sealed by the Parliament which met at Edinburgh on August 1, 1560.

On August 17th, the "Confession of Fayth professed and believed by the Protestants within the realme of Scotland," was read, and confirmed by the three Estates.

On August 24th the jurisdiction of the pope in Scotland was abolished, it being ordered that "na Bishop nor uther Prelat use any jurisdiction in *tymes to cum* by the said Bischop of Rome's authoritie under the pane aforesaid."

The first General Assembly of this new

[1] For a complete list of these "bishops," without the succession and without consecration, see Bishop Keith's Catalogue of the Scottish Bishops.

religious association was held at Edinburgh, on December 20, 1560, and consisted of forty-six individuals, dominated by John Knox, by whom the kingdom was divided into five districts, to each of which a "Superintendent" was assigned, *viz.:* John Spottiswoode, lay-parson, to the counties south of the Frith of Forth to the English Border (Lothian); John Winram, to the county of Fife; John Willox, to the counties included in the archiepiscopal diocese of Glasgow; John Carswell, to the bishoprics of Argyll and The Isles; and John Erskine, Baron or "Laird" Dun (a layman), to the counties of Forfar and Kincardine, then known as Angus and Mearns.

In 1571 it was clear that "the Superintendent System, which was neither Episcopal nor Presbyterian, with its ministers, exhorters, and readers, had proved a failure," and that "the very constitution of the kingdom had been rendered imperfect by the questionable authority of the acts of the various parliaments" of the preceding ten years. The new government (the earl of Mar, regent) thereupon

determined to establish an episcopacy, which, if not historical, would, at least, furnish successors to the defunct prelates in the national legislative assembly, and continue the Third Estate. The earl of Morton, who succeeded to the regency on the 24th day of November, 1572, was also concerned, with others of the nobility, in the institution of this nominal order of bishops, as enabling them to enjoy the lion's share of the revenues of the several sees to which their hench-men might be appointed: the titular would have the office he coveted; the patron, the ecclesiastical plunder.

On the 18th day of August, 1571, Morton nominated to the primatial see one John Douglas, rector of the University of St. Andrew's and provost of St. Mary's College there, an "auld unable man," as Knox's gossiping secretary describes him, "ane man unable to travell in body as a man should do, and more unable of his tongue to teach the principal office of ane bishop;" and as "archbishop" he sat in the convention of Stirling (September 5, 1571), his name appearing as *Joannes*

Archepisc Sancti-Andree; and on the 10th day of February following he was "inaugurated"—John Knox preaching the sermon, Winram, superintendent of Fife, an Augustine monk, delivering the exhortation on the duties of a bishop, and the apostolical commission transmitted by the "bishop" of Caithness (a layman, never in holy orders), David Lindsay, minister at Leith (whose ordination is doubtful), and John Spottiswoode, superintendent of Lothian, the lay-parson of Calder, one of the compilers of the Confession; all of whom (after he had declared that he would be "obedient to the Kirk," and that he would "take no more power than the Counsall and Generall Assemblie of the Kirk should prescribe") laid their hands on him (the first instance of laying on of hands in ordination in the "Reformed Church" of Scotland), "and embraced the said rector, Mr. John Douglas, in token of admission to the bishoprik"! Two years later (1573), accused by the General Assembly of remissness, indolence, contumacy, neglect of the exercises of preaching, visiting, etc., on making an effort to clear his charac-

ter, he sank down and expired on the spot.

James Paton, minister of Muckhart, on the banks of the Devon, appointed the same year (1571) to the see of Dunkeld, on the deprivation of the canonical prelate, Robert Crichton, for adherence to the queen, was "consecrated" by the "archbishop" of St. Andrews, and the superintendents (all laymen) of Fife, Lothian, and Angus. He, too, came to feel the heavy hand of the Kirk, for, in 1573, it was alleged against him, in the General Assembly, that he "had received the name of a bishop, but they had not heard that he had used the office within his bounds," that he had not proceeded against Papists, etc.; and the next year he was again arraigned for not excommunicating his powerful neighbor, the earl of Atholl, a zealous Romanist, and ordered to confess his fault publicly in the cathedral church of Dunkeld.

John Porterfield, the third of the first batch of Tulchans, was nominated (1571) to the archbishopric of Glasgow; but at the expiration of a year he was succeeded by James Boyd, the proprietor of the estate of

Trochrig, who was "consecrated" by the "bishop" of Dunkeld (James Paton), the "bishop" of The Isles (John Carswell, parson of Kilmartin and superintendent of Argyll), the bishop of Orkney (Adam Bothwell, one of the two Italian prelates in Scotland who affiliated with the Reformers), and the superintendent of Lothian, the lay-parson of Calder.

In 1573, George Douglas, an illegitimate son of the earl of Argus, was nominated to the see of Moray, "consecrated" on the 5th of February following, and arraigned before the next General Assembly, on the charge of fornication, and ordered to "purge himself before the assembly of the said crime."

At this General Assembly, held at Edinburgh the 6th of March, 1573–74, five of these *pseudo-bishops* put in an appearance —John, "bishop" of St. Andrews; James, "bishop" of Glasgow; James, "bishop" of Dunkeld; George, "bishop" of Moray; and Robert, "bishop" of Caithness; and, to add to their humiliation, it was decreed that the "jurisdiction of bishops in their ecclesiastical function shall not exceed that

of superintendents, which they previously had and still have," and that the said "bishops" shall be "subject to the discipline of the General Assembly as members thereof."

In 1574, Andrew Graham, a cadet of the Montrose family, but never so much as "a preacher," being nominated to the see of Dunblane, was ordered, by the General Assembly, to "exercise" on the opening verses of Romans v., on a specified day, in the Magdalene chapel, before the "bishops, superintendents, and ministers that may be present"; and, having acquitted himself to the especial satisfaction of "the minister of Edinburgh," was "consecrated" in the summer of 1575, but was "dilated" by the next General Assembly held at Edinburgh on the 24th of April, 1576, for not having "taught since his entry to his office, nor yet makes residence, nor hath a particular flock." In 1604 he resigned.

In the year 1576, Patrick Adamson, son of a baker at Perth, a "preacher" in the Reformed Church, then a pleader at the bar, and, subsequently, minister at Paisley, was presented to the archbishopric of St.

Andrews by the regent, Morton, and, after the usual farce of "consecration" by unconsecrated "bishops" and superintendents, entered on the discharge of duties that presently (1578) brought upon him the wrath of the General Assembly, which enjoined him to "remove the corruptions of the state of a bishop in his own person," and enacted that the "bishops" be content to be pastors and ministers of the flock; that they vote not in Parliament in name of the Kirk without permission of the Kirk: that they rule not above the particular elderships but be subject to the same; that they usurp not the power of the Presbyteries, etc., etc." Then he was "excommunicated" by the synod of Fife (1586), at the instigation of Andrew Melville, who dwelt upon "the corruptions of the human and satanical bishopric;" but the General Assembly, held in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, in May of the same year, recalled the sentence, the "primate" having solemnly declared, in writing, that he never intended in any way to claim a superiority over other ministers or pastors, and that he would submit his life and doctrine to the

General Assembly "without any reclamation, provocation, or appellation therefrom in all time coming." And on the 19th of February, 1591–92, harassed by poverty, persecution, and physical infirmity, he gave up the ghost, having previously issued his "Recantation," in which he condemned "the establishment of bishops as having no warrant from the word of God, but grounded upon the policy and invention of man, whereupon the Primacy of the Pope or Antichrist has risen."

In the year 1557, David Cunningham, sub-dean of Glasgow, having been nominated to that see by the regent, was "consecrated" at Aberdeen by Adamson, assisted by John Craig, a colleague to Knox, and another minister, an account of which proceeding, by a contemporary, has been preserved in these words: "On Monday the 11th day of November, in the year of God 1577, Master David Cunynghame, son to the Laird of Cunynghameid, was consecrat bishop of Aberdeen in the kirk by Master Patrick Constance (Adamson) bishop of Saint Andrews, who made the sermon. Master John Craig, minister of

Aberdeen, and Master Andrew Strachan, minister, collaters, and that in presence of the whole congregation of Aberdeen, with others of the county present for the time."

In the year 1603, when James VI., of Scotland, acceded to the crown of England, Alexander Campbell, appointed (1566) to the see of Brechin, by the influence of the earl of Argyll, but never consecrated, was the only one of all the former titular bishops alive, and at the time of his death (1606) he was a "preacher" at Brechin.

That same year Archbishop Beaton—the last prelate of the Roman Church in Scotland—having died in Paris, and the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow being literally vacant, John Spottiswoode, eldest son of Superintendent Spottiswoode, was appointed to the archbishopric, and held it for seven years unconsecrated; at the end of which time he repaired (1610) to London, with his two diocesan colleagues, where they were admitted into the episcopal succession, by the bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, and Worcester; from which time is dated the collapse of Tul-

chan episcopacy, as, on the return of these three duly consecrated Scottish prelates (Spottiswoode, Hamilton, and Lamb), the titular incumbents of the sees of St. Andrews and Orkney were formally invested, on "the penult of December," with the episcopal function, and "upon the Lord's Day, the 13th of January (1611), and upon the Lord's Day, 24th February, the rest of the bishops were consecrated, some at St. Andrews and some at Leith." That no time was lost in the establishment once more of the "historic episcopate" in the kingdom of Scotland is evident from a letter from Archbishop Gladstanes (the recently consecrated primate) to King James, under date May 3, 1611, in which he says: "All the bishops of my Province are now consecrated, for after that I had performed that work so in Leith and Edinburgh that the very precisians, who had carried prejudice about that purpose, were fully satisfied, being informed that those in the North who be within my diocese are more unruly than any in the South, spoke calumniously, both in public and private, of that consecration, I thought meet there

also to practise that action, and thereupon have consecrated the bishops of Aberdeen, and Caithness in the cathedral kirk of Brechin, being assisted with the bishops of Dunkeld and Brechin."

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Lawson: *History of the Scottish Episcopal Church from the Reformation to the Revolution.*

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Original Letters of the Reign of James the Sixth.

IV

THE SCOTTISH NONJURORS

1688–1788

The bishops of the Scottish Church, learning of the presence in England of the Prince of Orange, commissioned two of their number—Dr. Rose, of Edinburgh, and Dr. Bruce, of Orkney—to go to London, with a renewal of their allegiance to James, to whom they had transmitted a loyal address a few days previously. Owing to the illness of Dr. Bruce, Bishop Rose was compelled to venture on the errand alone. While in the metropolis, he was presented to William III., who, when the prelate was announced, stepped forward and said: "My lord, are you going for Scotland ?" "Yes, Sir," replied the bishop, "if you have any commands for me." "I hope," said the king, "you will be kind to me and follow the example of England." "Sir," replied his lordship, "I will serve you so far as law, reason, or conscience shall allow me." William said no more, but, turning to his friends, terminated the interview. That day the fate of the Scottish Church as the national establishment was sealed: the prince decided to stand by the Presbyterians who had thrown themselves into his arms.

CHAPTER IV

THE SCOTTISH NONJURORS[1]

On the 19th of July, 1689, the Parliament of Scotland passed an act "abolishing prelacie, and all superioritie of any office in the Church in this kingdom above presbyters."

On the 19th of September, warrant was given for the seizure of all the episcopal and other revenues by the exchequer, no allowance being made to the legal possessors.

On the 24th of April, 1690, an act was passed "restoring the Presbyterian ministers who were thrust from their churches since the 1st of January, 1661."

On the 7th of June, the Westminster Confession of Faith was ratified, sanctioned, and established as the "public and allowed Confession of this Church," the same act settling "Presbyterian Church Govern-

[1] See the chapters on *The English Nonjurors*, *The College Bishops*, *The Usagers*, and *Ordinations?*

ment and Discipline by Kirk Sessions, Presbyteries, Provincial Synods, and General Assemblies;" and the royal assent was affixed.

The ejected bishops, turned out of their episcopal residences, quietly betook themselves to honorable and patient retirement, making no attempt to defend their order. According to Grub, their seclusion was so complete during the summer of 1689, that Dundee, in writing to Lord Melfort, mentioned that he did not know where they were, or how to find out the primate, and spoke of them as being "now the kirk invisible."

The most reverend Arthur Ross, the son of a clergyman, parson of Glasgow, bishop of Argyll (1675), archbishop of Glasgow (1679), primate of St. Andrews by royal letters patent (1684), disappeared for fourteen years, at the end of which time he died at Edinburgh and was interred in the churchyard of Restalrig, near Leith. Forty-two years later his grandson, Arthur, sixth Lord Balmerino, was beheaded on Tower Hill for being concerned in the Enterprise of Prince Charles *Edward*.

The Most Reverend John Paterson, of the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow, formerly dean of Edinburgh, then bishop of Galloway, then of Edinburgh, translated to the metropolitical chair of Glasgow in 1687, retired to the Athens of Scotland, and, in the oratory connected with his house in that city of Edinburgh, on the Feast of the conversion of S. Paul (1705), that the Scottish succession might be preserved, united with the bishops of Edinburgh and Dumblane in elevating John Sage and John Fullarton to the episcopal order. On the 23d day of December, 1708, he was laid to rest in the chapel royal of Holyrood Palace.

John Hamilton, one of the ministers of Edinburgh, being offered the bishopric of Dunkeld (made vacant by the ejection of Andrew Bruce, "deprived by the court for showing his dislike to the design of repealing the laws against popery"), which had been refused by Dr. Drummond, bishop of Brechin, because, as he said, he knew of no vacancy existing there, greedily snatched at the same, and the chapter having acted on the *congé d'élire*, rather

than suffer imprisonment for treason, was consecrated on the 19th of October, 1686, and, when the hour struck, took the oath of allegiance to William and became sub-dean of his majesty's chapel-royal. According to Bishop Keith, the father of this prelate was a descendant of John Hamilton, the last Italian archbishop of St. Andrews, who obtained an act of legitimation from the Scottish Parliament in favor of his *children!*

George Hallyburton, of the parish of Cupar-Angus, consecrated bishop of Brechin in 1678, and provost of that city, translated to Aberdeen in 1682, retired to his own mansion of Denhead, near the scene of his former parochial activity, but did not forego the privilege of ordaining clergy for the diocese from which he had been ejected. He passed away on the 29th of September, 1715.

William Hay, of King's College, Aberdeen, incumbent of Kilconquhar in Fife, later of Perth, whence (1688) he was elevated to the see of Moray, fixed his residence at Inverness, a place within the limits of his own diocese, and there died, "sore

diseased in his body by a palsy," at his son-in-law's house at Castlehill, in 1707. In the old churchyard at Inverness there is said to be a monument to his memory, whose Latin inscription has been thus translated: "Sacred to the Memory of the Right Reverend Father in God, William Hay, Professor of Theology, a most deserving bishop of Moray—a Prelate of primitive holiness and great eloquence, at all times a constant maintainer of the Church and regal dignity, as well in their afflicted as in their flourishing condition. He adorned the episcopal mitre by his piety and honored the same by the integrity of his life and affable behaviour. Exhausted by study and a twenty years' palsy, a most blessed end followed his upright life. John Cuthbert, his son-in-law, erected this monument."

Andrew Bruce, deprived of Dunkeld (1685) by King James, because of his opposition to the proposed concessions to the Scottish Romanists and appointed (1688), by the same monarch, to the vacant see of Orkney, died in seclusion in March, 1700.

James Ramsay, bishop of Ross, "the

bold and consistent advocate of ecclesiastical reform and political moderation, the friend alike of Archbishop Burnet and of Archbishop Leighton," died at Edinburgh in 1696, in great poverty, and was interred in the Canongate churchyard.

James Drummond, of clerical extraction, successively incumbent of Auchterarder and Muthill, in Perthshire, consecrated to the see of Brechin on Christmas-Day, 1684, in the chapel royal of Holyrood-house, and provost of Brechin in 1685, "preached in Brechin for the last time on Sunday, 18th April, 1689, on the occasion of the administration of the holy sacrament of the Lord's Supper, his text taken from the twelfth chapter, first verse, of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, not implying that he thought this sermon was the last which would be delivered by a bishop in the Cathedral Church of Brechin." Subsequently he resided with the earl of Errol, at Slains Castle, in Aberdeenshire, until death, in 1695, gave him the freedom of the universe.

Andrew Wood, son of a clergyman of the same name, nephew of the famous

Bishop Guthrie, of Moray, in the reign of Charles I., a prelate who was excommunicated by the Presbyterian General Assembly, held at Glasgow in 1638, for having dared to "preach in a surplice before His Majesty in the High Church of Edinburgh, to the great scandal of the *zealous* people there," incumbent of Dunbar in the county of Haddington when consecrated (1678) bishop of The Isles, and translated (1680) to the see of Caithness, removed to his cherished parish of Dunbar, where he died in 1695.

Robert Douglas, appointed to the benefice of Laurencekirk, in Kincardineshire, after the murder of Charles I., presented by Charles II. to the parish of Bothwell in Lanarkshire, thence removed to the royal burgh of Renfrew, and thence to the parsonage of Hamilton, which included the deanery of Glasgow, consecrated to the see of Brechin in 1682, translated to Dumblane in 1684, one of the consecrators (1705) of John Fullarton and John Sage, of John Falconar and Henry Chrystie (1709), and of Archibald Campbell (1711), died at Dundee in 1716, at the venerable

age of ninety-two, "full of piety as well as of years."

Alexander Cairncross, a dyer in the Canongate of Edinburgh, parson of Dumfries, consecrated (1684) to the see of Brechin, translated the same year to the archbishopric of Glasgow, deprived (1687) by the secular power which he had offended by his unwillingness to suspend a clergyman who had preached against the corruptions of Rome, "lived privately until the Revolution," and four years later (1693), having no objections to the oath of allegiance to William and Mary, was, through the influence of Bishop Burnet, appointed to the vacant Irish see of Raphoe, to the great offence of the Scottish bishops and clergy. It is said, however, that he was a liberal benefactor to a fund raised for the relief of the suffering clergy of Scotland, and he bequeathed the tenth part of his whole effects to the same object. He died 1701.

Archibald Graham, parson of Rothsay, consecrated (1680) to The Isles, left no record behind him, and it is not known what became of him. Grub says that there

is a document dated in April, 1702, bearing the signature of Archibald, bishop of The Isles, among the papers of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, No. E. 4, of the catalogue.

Alexander Rose, student of divinity at Glasgow, minister at Perth, professor of divinity at Glasgow, principal of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, consecrated to Moray 1686, translated to Edinburgh 1687, one of the commissioners to James from the Scottish bishops 1688, one of the consecrators (1705) of John Sage and John Fullarton, (1709) of John Falconar and Henry Chrystie, (1714) of Archibald Campbell, and (1718) of Arthur Millar and William Irvine (all consecrated to preserve the succession, and no *portio gregis* assigned), on the decease of Primate Ross (1704), vicar-general of St. Andrews (as suffragan to its archbishop, and heir to the titles and prerogatives formerly possessed by the bishops of Dunkeld in virtue of the act of Parliament 1617), on the death of Archbishop Paterson, of Glasgow (1708), sole metropolitan, and, on the death of Bishop Douglas, of Dumblane (1716), the only

survivor of the diocesan bishops, and, "so far as jurisdiction was concerned, the bishop of the whole Church—*Episcopus Scotorum*"—this man, who, in his later years, "possessed an ecclesiastical authority unlike anything which had been known in Scotland since the time of the first successors of S. Columba," was spared to the Church until the year 1720, when he was interred in the ancient church of Restalrig.

John Gordon, called by the king in the charter of nomination under the great seal, dated February 4 and sealed September 4, 1688, "Doctorem Theologiæ Joannem Gordon, nostrum capellanum apud New York, in America," consecrated bishop of Galloway on the latter date, followed his royal master into Ireland, and, when the crown was definitely lost, crossed with him into France, and for a while resided at St. Germain's, at the dethroned monarch's mimic court, where he read the service of the English Church, in a private house, for the comfort of the exiles. According to one account, he died (1726) in the communion of the Roman Church, and in the enjoyment of a pension from the pope.

He was the last of the bishops deprived at the Revolution.

On the death of James II. in France (1701), James Edward Stuart (born, just before the Revolution, of Mary of Modena, the second wife of the misguided king), was acknowledged by Louis XIV., and lived to acquire the sobriquet of the OLD PRETENDER. Twenty years later (1721) Charles Edward Stuart, his son, came into the world at Rome (his mother being the granddaughter of John Sobieski, king of Poland); and it was not until the decease, without issue, of this YOUNG PRETENDER, in 1788, that the Scottish prelates saw their way clear to the full recognition of the actual English sovereign, George III.

James II. had died, in exile, before the deprived bishops ventured on taking steps to preserve their order. When the Chevalier St. George (James Edward Stuart) had quite taken his father's place and was struggling for the restoration of the Stuart dynasty, it became customary, in filling the episcopal office, to solicit or act upon his recommendation.

Mr. Lockhart of Carnwath, seems to have kept the "King," as he terms him, tolerably well informed as to the happenings in the Scottish episcopate. On the decease (1720) of Bishop Rose, he posted a letter to the continent, lamenting the loss of such a man at that crisis. On the election of Bishop Fullarton as his successor, the "King" is exhorted to "write a letter to the clergy, recommending unity among themselves and obedience to their superiors, particularly to Bishop Fullarton, who was appointed Primus of the College of Bishops as well as Bishop of Edinburgh;" and the "King" hearkened and heard, and wrote the desired letter, under date of June 12, 1720, the bishops acknowledging the royal supremacy by transmitting him, in return, a detailed account of their whole proceedings. Some time during the same year he nominated the Rev. David Freebairn to be consecrated; but as the clergyman in question had no great reputation for either learning or ability, two years went by before the episcopal college consented to the urgent and repeated requests of the Chevalier. On the 18th of March,

1724, James Edward Stuart, in reply to a communication from the *College Bishops*,[1] authorized them to add to their number the four persons they had proposed to him—Mr. John Ouchterlonie, Mr. Robert Norrie, Mr. Alexander Duncan, and Mr. James Rose. Acting on this permission, Messrs. Norrie and Duncan were consecrated that same year; and, in 1726, Bishops Freebairn, Cant, and Duncan elevated the other nominees of the Chevalier to the episcopal order, though not without serious protests, Bishops Fullarton, Gadderar, and Millar even refusing to officiate. On the 27th day of October (1724) the Chevalier wrote the *College Bishops* to elect Bishop Irvine successor to Bishop Fullarton, Primus, but the primate outlived his colleague. Then (May 1, 1726), he directed them to elect Bishop Cant to officiate temporarily as Primus in the event of Bishop Fullarton's death, and, failing him, Bishop Duncan. Then (July 20, 1726), he transmitted an order for the consecration of John Gillan (which, however, was not acted on until June 22, 1727), and, in another document, enjoined the

[1] See chapter on *The College Bishops*.

bishops not to add any to their number without first consulting him, adding: "It is my will and pleasure that no bishop amongst you shall be appointed to have the care and inspection of any particular district without my previous authority."

After the concordate of 1731,[1] the Chevalier, on application, gave the bishops "permission to keep up the episcopal succession and to appoint bishops to such districts, not exceeding seven in number, as they might select, without consulting him," although he still retained the right to nominate for the see of Edinburgh, which vacancy, however, lasted till the year 1776. This, practically, put an end to the practice of applying to the exiled family for authority to consecrate.

In the year 1745, the year of the landing of the Young Pretender (Charles Edward Stuart), there were not more than one hundred and fifty presbyters in communion with the Nonjuring Scottish Bishops.

In the year 1784, on the death of Bishop Falconer, the first incumbent of the see of Edinburgh for forty years, only four pre-

[1] See chapters on *The College Bishops* and *The Usagers*.

lates remained to the Scottish Church—Bishop Kilgour, the new Primus, Bishop Rose, of Dunkeld and Dumblane, Bishop Petrie, of Moray and Ross, and Bishop Skinner, coadjutor of Aberdeen; and their clergy were scarce forty in number. This was the year, and these Nonjuring bishops the channel, of the transmission of the episcopate to America.

In the year 1788, just one hundred years after the deprivation of the original Nonjuring bishops, the Scottish Church submitted to the government, and, on the 25th of May of the same year, the name of King George was introduced into the Service.

The notice that was agreed upon by the bishops and other clergy, and ordered to be published in the chapels, ran as follows:

INTIMATION TO THE CLERGY AND LAITY OF THE EPISCOPAL CHURCH OF SCOTLAND.

"The Protestant Bishops in Scotland, having met at Aberdeen, on the 24th of April, 1788, to take into their serious consideration the state of the Church under their inspection, did, upon mature delibera-

tion with their clergy, unanimously agree to comply and submit to the present government of this Kingdom as vested in the person of his Majesty King George III. They also resolved to testify this compliance by uniformly praying for him by name in their public worship in hopes of removing all suspicion of disaffection, and of obtaining relief from those penal laws under which this Church has so long suffered. At the same time, they think it their duty to declare, that this resolution proceeds from principles purely ecclesiastical; and that they are moved to it by the justest and most satisfying reasons in discharge of that high trust devolved upon them in their episcopal character, and to promote, as far as they can, the peace and prosperity of that portion of the Christian Church committed to their charge.

"For obtaining of this desirable end, they therefore appoint their clergy to make public notification to their congregations upon the 18th day of May next, that upon the following Lord's day nominal prayers for the King are to be authoritatively introduced, and afterward to continue in the relig-

ious assemblies of this Episcopal Church; and they beg leave to recommend, as to their clergy, whose obedience they expect, so likewise to all good Christian people, under their episcopal care, and do earnestly intreat and exhort them, in the bowels of Jesus Christ, that they will all cordially receive this determination of their Spiritual Fathers."

To this document were appended the names of—

Robert Kilgour, Bishop and Primus.

John Skinner, Bishop of Aberdeen.

Andrew Macfarlane, Bishop of Ross and Moray.

William Abernethy Drummond, Bishop of Edinburgh.

John Strachan, Bishop of Brechin.

The relations between the Scottish and English Nonjuring prelates were generally of the most fraternal sort.

On the 24th of February, 1712, George Hickes, consecrated (1693) suffragan of Thetford, by the deprived bishops of Norwich, Ely, and Peterborough, united with

two of his Scottish fellow-sufferers (John Falconer and Archibald Campbell) in elevating James Gadderar to the episcopate.

On the 3d of June, 1713, he was assisted in the consecration of Jeremiah Collier, Nathaniel Spinckes, and Samuel Hawes, for his own church, by the two Scottish Nonjurors residing in London—Archibald Campbell and James Gadderar.

On the 30th of March, 1725, Bishops Fullarton, Millar, Irvine, and Freebairn consecrated another bishop — Henry Doughty—for their English brethren, and consecrated him at Edinburgh.

On the 5th of March, 1777, Robert Gordon, the last surviving prelate of that portion of the English Nonjuring body with which the Scottish bishops were in communion (Archibald Campbell had started another and independent line, in 1733, of bishops consecrated by a single bishop, which endured until 1805,[1] but was not otherwise recognized), wrote to "The right reverend the Primus, and his colleagues, the Bishops of the Church of Scotland," a letter in these words: "Considering the

[1] See Chapter on *The English Nonjurors.*

precarious and uncertain tenure of man's life, and, in particular, mine own infirmities in an advanced age, which the Psalmist tells us is but labor and sorrow, I cannot help being full of solicitude and anxiety to provide for the spiritual comfort and security of the poor orphans of the anti-revolution Church of England, whom I shall leave behind me; it is therefore my earnest desire and request to your paternities, that you would vouchsafe to take the poor minished remnant under the wings of your paternal protection, receiving them into full communion as sound members of the Catholic Church, by such synodical act as to your paternities, in your wisdom, shall seem meet; wherein, right reverend brethren, you will afford the highest satisfaction and comfort to your affectionate brother, and devoted servant in Christ."

The answer of the Scottish bishops was at once brotherly and paternal. They said: "We hereby declare, upon every proper occasion, our willingness to take under our care and tuition, and to receive into full communion with us, in all the holy offices of Christian communion and

fellowship, as members of Christ's mystical body, all those who are in full communion with you; and we promise that they shall be entitled to the same privileges in the participation of the Holy mysteries, and all other means of grace, dispensed by the bishops and ministers of our Church, equally with those under our pastoral care in this our ancient kingdom."

In 1779 Bishop Gordon was gathered to his fathers, and the original Nonjuring English Church had ceased to be.

Occasionally, however, the Scotsmen could not brook the interference of their Southern brethren.

Thus, in the year 1744, Bishop George Smith, one of the English Nonjurors, having received into communion a deposed Scottish clergyman, intimated to the recalcitrant presbyters of Edinburgh, who were disposed to animadvert upon the canons lately enacted, that he and his colleagues might proceed to the consecration of one of their number—which thing if he had done, another schism would have been initiated. And Bishop Keith, who died

Primus of the Scottish Church, on the 20th of January, 1757, and to whom we are indebted for the standard "Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops" (to say nothing of his other literary labors), seriously expostulated with one of the Campbell line (consecrated by a single individual) for unnecessary interference in the affairs of the Church north of the Tweed.

AUTHORITIES FOR THIS CHAPTER:

Lathbury: *History of the Nonjurors.*
Perceval: *On Apostolical Succession.*
Grub: *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland.*
Lawson: *Scottish Episcopal Church since the Revolution.*
Skinner: *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland.*

V

THE COLLEGE BISHOPS

1688–1732

The Revolution of 1688, which established Presbyterianism in Scotland, surprised the ejected bishops of the Scottish Church into the rejection of the diocesan episcopacy that had superseded the tribal in the XIIth century—previous to which time the bishop of S. Andrews was the only diocesan prelate in Scotland, as Grub explains; and to him was given the title of *The Bishop of the Scots*, just as Aidan had been *Bishop of the Northumbrians;* and Felix, *Bishop of the East Angles;* and Diuma, the Scot, *Bishop of the Mercians and Middle Angles;* and Cedd, *Bishop of the East Saxons;* and Trumwine, *Bishop of the Picts;* and Tuathal, abbot of Dunkeld, on the union of the Scots and Picts under Kenneth (849), was styled *primus episcopus;* which title was changed on the translation of the primacy to S. Andrews, fifty years later, into *Episcopi Scotorum* (Escop Alban, in the Keltic), as applied to the bishops of that see, because "they were the bishops of the whole nation of the Scots."

Had the answer of the bishop of Edinburgh to King William III. been different—more politic or more courteous—the ancient church of Scotland had not been disestablished. But its fate was sealed in that interview; and thenceforth, even until the death of this same Bishop Rose, in 1720, whose episcopal authority, however, was recognized to the end by the clergy of the metropolitan province of S. Andrews—whose vicar-general he had been as bishop of Edinburgh—all the presbyters elevated to the Scottish episcopate "were consecrated solely for the purpose of preserving the succession," and without any *portio gregis* being assigned to them.

CHAPTER V

THE COLLEGE BISHOPS[1]

In the year 1688–89 the bishops of the Church of Scotland were deprived of their temporalities and, as it fell out, of jurisdiction. The bishop of Edinburgh, whose answer to the king precipitated the overthrow of the Establishment, and who, on the death of the primate, Arthur Ross, assumed (1705) the title of vicar of the see of S. Andrews, and, eventually, as the sole survivor of the diocesan bishops, became *Episcopus Scotorum*, raised to the episcopate, as metropolitan and primate, six clergymen who survived him (two—Campbell and Gadderar—residing in England; four —Fullarton, Falconer, Millar, and Irvine—living in Scotland); but "none of them

[1] See the chapters on *The Usagers*, and *Ordinations?*; also those on *The Scottish Nonjurors*, and *The English Nonjurors.*

either possessed or laid claim to any jurisdiction in virtue of his episcopal character." Once more there was not a diocesan bishop in Scotland. The situation was unique. *A College of Bishops governed the Church of Scotland!*

According to the *Scotichronicon* (Dr. Gordon), this extraordinary system lasted from 1686 to *circ.* 1740, and included twenty bishops from first to last. But one must read between the lines of these tables.

Of the prelates in possession of sees at the Revolution, but five, exclusive of Bishop Gordon, who had joined the Roman communion, survived the death (1704) of Archbishop Ross, the primate of S. Andrews,—the archbishop of Glasgow and the bishops of Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Moray and Dumblane; and one of these, William Hay, the bishop of Moray, was physically incapacitated. To preserve the episcopate it was resolved to proceed to the consecration of other clergymen, and on January 25, 1705, John Fullarton, who had been one of the ministers of Paisley, and John Sage, a graduate of S. Salvator's College, S. Andrews, parish schoolmaster, tutor, parish

priest, polemic, chaplain, were raised to the episcopal order by John *Glasgow* (Paterson), Alexander *Edinburgh* (Rose), Robert *Dumblane* (Douglas); and it was stipulated that during the lifetime of the consecrators "they were to have no share in the general government of the Church, but only to assist in consecrations and ordinations, and to give their counsel and aid when required."

As the deaths of Bishop Hay (1707) and Archbishop Paterson (1708) again reduced the number of the Scottish prelates to five —Hallyburton, formerly of Aberdeen, Rose, of Edinburgh, Douglas, formerly of Dumblane, and Fullarton and Sage, and as Hallyburton had become "so weak in his intellectuals that it was not judged convenient to employ him in any business of importance that required a certain degree of secrecy and caution," it was thought expedient to raise other two to the episcopate, and, accordingly, on April 28, 1709, John Falconer, ejected minister of Carnbee in Fife, and Henry Christie, ejected incumbent of Kinross, were consecrated at Dundee, the usual residence of Bishop Douglas,

by Alexander *Edinburgh*, Robert *Dumblane* and John Sage.

On June 17, 1711, death relieved Bishop Sage of the burdens of the episcopate; and the surviving prelates filled his place by consecrating, on S. Bartholomew's day of the same year, at Dundee, the son of Lord Neil Campbell and grandson of the famous covenanting leader, Archibald, marquis of Argyll, and on the same conditions that had been laid down in the case of the former consecrations. At the time, Archibald Campbell was a resident of London, and there he continued to live, even after his consecration, to the great detriment of the Church, becoming the author of a new schism among the English Nonjurors, for a small section of whom he consecrated, unassisted, and without the consent of his colleagues, one Roger Lawrence, the first of a line of prelates (1733–95) owing their episcopal character to the action of a single bishop.

At the opening of 1712 the *Episcopal College* consisted of Bishops Rose, Douglas, Falconer, Christie, and Campbell, Bishop Rose acting as Primus. On S.

Matthias' Day (February 24th) James Gadderar, formerly minister at Kilmalcolm, in Ayrshire, then resident in England, was consecrated at London by Archibald Campbell, George Hickes, ejected dean of Worcester, an English Nonjuror, consecrated suffragan of Thetford by the deprived Anglican prelates, and John Falconer. This is said to be the only instance of an English Nonjuring bishop joining in the consecration of a Scottish prelate, although the Scottish bishops, on two occasions at least—in the consecration (1713) of Jeremiah Collier, Nathaniel Spinckes, and Samuel Hawes; and again (1725), in the consecration of Henry Doughty—did what they could to perpetuate the Jacobite line in England. Bishop Gadderar continued to reside in London till the year 1724.

The death of Bishop Christie, in 1718, left but three prelates in Scotland—Rose, Fullarton, and Falconer, and forced the survivors to take immediate steps toward the preservation of the succession. Accordingly, on the 22d of October of the same year, Arthur Millar (who had been deprived of his parochial cure at Inveresk,

in the county of Edinburgh, by the committee of estates in 1689, and had, subsequently, been tried for not praying for King George), and William Irvine (who had been driven out of his parish of Kirkmichael, in Ayrshire, at the Revolution, by the Cameronian rabble, and had been twice incarcerated for his Jacobite proclivities) were consecrated, at Edinburgh, by Alexander *Edinburgh*, John Fullarton, and John Falconer.

This was the last time that Bishop Rose took part in any important ceremony. On the 20th of March, 1720, "this primitive and upright prelate," the sole survivor of his brethren ejected at the Revolution, fell asleep; and the Scottish Church was absolutely without a prelate consecrated or elected to any particular diocese or district.

A few days later, the four surviving resident Scottish bishops having exhibited their letters of consecration, and demonstrated their episcopal character, Bishop Fullarton was the choice of a duly convened meeting of presbyters (about fifty in number) as the successor of Bishop Rose, to

reside at Edinburgh, and to act as Primus, but without any metropolitan authority. The bishops concurred, and assumed the name of *The Episcopal College.*

Encouraged, as Grub tells us, by what had taken place at Edinburgh, a large body of the clergy of Angus, and those also in the presbytery of S. Andrews, requested Bishop Falconer, who resided in Fife, to assume the spiritual superintendence of them, and the people committed to their charge. This arrangement was made without delay, and Bishop Falconer became a "district bishop," the old territorial limits of the ecclesiastical divisions being disregarded.

Shortly after, the clergy and laity of the county of Aberdeen, unable to secure the episcopal superintendence of Bishop Falconer, elected (May 10, 1721) Archibald Campbell, resident in London, as their ordinary; but *The College*, fearing his liturgical proclivities, refused to confirm the election. Whereupon Campbell sent his colleague Gadderar to Aberdeen, with a commission to act as his vicar; and four years went by before he would resign the see in favor of

his friend by a formal deed; and even then he reserved his right, in case he should be able to come to Aberdeen and claim it.

On the 17th of October of the next year (1722), two presbyters, Andrew Cant, son of the principal of the college of Edinburgh, a grandson of a covenanting minister, and David Freebairn, originally minister at Dunning, but not in much repute for learning or ability, were consecrated to the episcopate by Bishops Fullarton, Millar, and Irvine; two years later, on the Feast of S. James, 1724, the same bishops conferred the episcopal order on Alexander Duncan, formerly minister of Kilpatrick Easter, and Robert Norrie, presbyter in Dundee; and, on the 29th day of November, 1726, John Ouchterlonie, a bitter political partisan, and once minister of Aberlemno, and James Rose, a brother of the late bishop of Edinburgh, formerly minister of Monimail, received the apostolical commission from the hands of Bishops Freebairn, Duncan, and Cant. None of these were consecrated to any see; all were without any spiritual authority. Bishops Fullarton and Gadderar were the only dio-

cesan bishops in Scotland. Fullarton had been elected by the clergy (1720) to succeed Bishop Rose; Gadderar, who had been originally commissioned by Campbell to act as his vicar at Aberdeen, had been elected (June 17, 1725) as their ordinary by the clergy of Moray, assembled in the college at Elgin. One year previously (4 July, 1724) Bishop Gadderar had signed five articles of agreement, as between him and his *College* colleagues, the fourth of which declared that "The Primus and the other bishops do grant their authority and commission to the said Bishop Gadderar to officiate as bishop of Aberdeen for the future—with this express condition, that he do not ascribe his officiating there to any delegation or substitution for any other person whatsoever, but only to the election of the presbyters, and authority of the bishops of this Church."

Early in May, 1727, the venerable Primus was gathered to his fathers, and Bishop Gadderar was left the only diocesan prelate in Scotland—"all the others," as Lawson observes, "having no more spiritual authority by toleration than they had in

England, or in any other country where the Church existed or was established." Well might Bishop Russell (writing 1821) exclaim: "We believe no clergyman out of Scotland ever supposed that a number of men admitted to the *order* of Bishops, but to whom as individuals the government of *no part* of the church was committed, had, as a *body* or *college*, a right to claim the government of *the whole*."

On the death of Bishop Fullarton, the clergy of Edinburgh, on the 5th of May, elected Bishop Millar as their diocesan, who was thereupon acknowledged as Primus, and vicar-general and metropolitan, though not without much controversy and schismatical procedure.

On the 4th of June, of the same year (1727), the Rev. Dr. Thomas Rattray, of Craighall, proprietor of the fine estate of Craighall in Perthshire, one of the most learned men of the day, having been elected as their ordinary by the presbyters resident within the ancient diocese of Dunkeld, was consecrated at Edinburgh by Bishops Millar, Gadderar, and Cant, the first Scottish bishop consecrated to any

particular district subsequent to the Revolution.

Two weeks later (June 18th), William Dunbar, formerly minister of Cruden, in Aberdeenshire, of which cure he had been deprived in 1716, although appointed to it after the Revolution, having been elected by the clergy of the diocese of Moray (Gadderar's election not having been confirmed) to be their bishop; and Robert Keith, presbyter in Edinburgh, designed to be co-adjutor to the aged Primus, were consecrated at Edinburgh by Bishops Millar, Gadderar, and Rattray.

On the 22d of June, John Gillan and David Ranken, presbyters in Edinburgh, were elevated to the episcopal order without election to any see, by Bishops Freebairn, Duncan, Rose, and Ouchterlonie.

On the 9th day of October, 1727, Bishop Millar died at a very advanced age. And on the 19th of the same month the clergy of Edinburgh elected the Rev. Andrew Lumsden, minister at Duddingston before the Revolution, and archdeacon under Bishop Fullarton, a very aged presbyter, to the vacant see, and he was consecrated on

the 2d of November following, at Edinburgh, by Bishops Cant, Rattray, and Keith.

On the 10th of July, 1733, Bishop Keith was elected by the clergy of Fife to the superintendence of that district, but continued to reside in Edinburgh, and in accordance with the *Concordate* of December, 1731, still retained the administration of Orkney, Caithness, and the Isles.

After this, the Scottish bishops, with a very few exceptions, were consecrated to regular and definite sees. The exceptions were: Henry Edgar, consecrated November 1, 1759; Arthur Petrie, consecrated June 27, 1777; George Innes, consecrated August 13, 1778; John Skinner, consecrated September 25, 1782; Andrew Macfarlane, consecrated March 7, 1787; John Strachan, consecrated September 26, 1787; Alexander Jolly, consecrated June 24, 1796; Matthew H. Luscombe, consecrated (to go abroad) March 20, 1825; and David Moir, consecrated October 8, 1837.

The *Concordate*, which ended the novel scheme of governing the Church by a *College of Bishops*, was subscribed by all the

bishops on the 13th of May, 1732, the bishop of Edinburgh alone objecting to the article abolishing the office of metropolitan; on which account the office of Primus was taken from him and transferred to Bishop Freebairn. The sixth article assigns and apportions dioceses.

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VI

THE USAGERS

1720–1732

In the year 1718 the Scottish bishops, to whom the controversy that was dividing the English Nonjurors was referred for a synodical declaration, refused to decide in favor of those who contended for the Communion Office as it is in the Book of Common Prayer—the party headed by Bishop Spinckes, formerly one of the prebendaries of Sarum, and Rector of S. Martin's, in that diocese. At the same time, they stood out against those (whom the learned Bishop Collier represented) who wished the *usages* restored that had been acknowledged at the commencement of the Reformation. But the *via media* is not always the *via sapiens*.

On the death of Bishop Rose (1720) the same controversy raged in, and divided the Scottish Church, the bishops taking sides, and actively propagating their respective views and parties. Three years later, Mr. Lockhart, one of the "Trustees" of the exiled prince, wrote him, under date of May 21, 1723: "Since my last, Gadderar (bishop) having gone to the North, and boldly contemned both the advices and orders of the College and *your Trustees*, by openly advancing his opinions, and practising his *Usages*, and having gained several of both clergy and laity over to his way of thinking, is in a fair way of creating a terrible schism, which cannot fail in having dismal effects."

CHAPTER VI

THE USAGERS[1]

On the death (1720) of Bishop Rose, of Edinburgh, the last of the deprived diocesan prelates, the liturgical practices which had led to a schism among the English Nonjurors on the decease (1715) of Bishop Hickes, wrought to the creation of two parties among the six surviving Scottish prelates.

Bishops Falconer, Campbell, and Gadderar (two of whom resided in London, and were in the frequent company of Bishops Collier and Brett, the leaders of "the primitive party" in the Nonjuring Church in the South) were favorable to the "Usages:"

The mixing of water with the wine;

[1] To be read in connection with the chapter on *College Bishops*. See also the chapters on *The Scottish Nonjurors* and *The English Nonjurors*.

The commemoration of the faithful departed;

The use of an express prayer of Invocation in consecrating the Elements;

The use of the Oblatory prayer before distribution.

They also favored a return to diocesan episcopacy, and were not tied to the recommendations of the exiled royal family.

On the other side were ranged the new Primus (Bishop Fullarton), and Bishops Millar and Irvine, men entirely subject to the will of the Chevalier, who thought to control them better as a *College of Bishops*, to which he could add at pleasure, than as ordinaries in charge of fixed and definite districts.

On the 17th of October, 1722, the *Collegiate Party*, to prevent the bishops in favor of the *usages* from acquiring a majority, elevated to the episcopate two presbyters, Andrew Cant, one of the former ministers of Edinburgh, and son of the principal of the college of Edinburgh, and David Freebairn, sometime minister at Dunning, but not in much repute for scholarship or ability; and, to retain the majority they

had now gained, the same three prelates consecrated, in 1724, other two opponents of the obnoxious liturgical practices—Alexander Duncan, formerly minister at Kilbirnie, and Robert Norrie, once stationed at Dundee; and two years later Bishops Freebairn, Duncan, and Cant made bishops out of John Ouchterlonie, minister at Aberlemno till 1716, and James Rose, a brother of the late primate—all of them the choice of the exiled James and his "Trustees."[1]

In November, 1725, Bishop Irvine was translated to Paradise, where he was joined, early in 1727, by Bishops Norrie and Fullarton, successively.

Then (1727) the clergy of Edinburgh elected Bishop Millar (who had left the *College Party*) as their diocesan, who, thereupon, was acknowledged as Primus, vicar-general, and metropolitan, by Bishop Gadderar, ordinary of Aberdeen, and Bishop Cant, consecrated "bishop at large," but opposed to the Erastianism of his colleagues. The other bishops, Free-

[1] Grub's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, vol. iii., pp. 387, 395. Lawson's Scottish Episcopal Church since the Revolution, p. 233, etc. Lockhart Papers. Skinner's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii.

bairn, Duncan, Rose, and Ouchterlonie, however, refused their consent.

A violent controversy ensued. The *Usagers* held to Bishop Millar. The *College Party* appointed Bishop Freebairn to supersede him or to superintend his diocese in the *interim.*

On the 4th of June (1727), Dr. Thomas Rattray, of Craighall, one of the most distinguished scholars of the day, and a noted champion of the *usages*, having been elected to the see of Dunkeld by the presbyters connected therewith, was consecrated to diocesan superintendence by Bishops Millar, Gadderar, and Cant.

On the 11th of the same month, the *College Party* added two prelates to their ranks—John Gillan, preceptor and chaplain to Mr. Lockhart of Carnworth (one of the "Trustees" of the exiled James), and the nominee of the Chevalier, and David Ranken, who was consecrated without consulting the "king."

Seven days later the *Usagers* (or Diocesan Party) consecrated the Rev. William Dunbar, formerly minister of Cruden, in Aberdeenshire, to the see of Moray, the

clergy attached thereto having elected him to be their bishop; and at the same time the Rev. Robert Keith, presbyter in Edinburgh, a man of considerable ability and industry, and the author of the "History of the Church and State in Scotland during the Period of the Reformation and the Reign of Queen Mary"—(the source of Dr. Robertson's historical endeavor), who had been nominated as coadjutor to the failing primate, was raised to the episcopal order.

On the 9th of October, Bishop Millar was gathered to his fathers, but not before the other party had passed a formal act annulling his election to the see of Edinburgh, and suspending him from his functions. The election of Rattray and Dunbar they further declared to be null and void, their consecration to be irregular and uncanonical, and themselves to be no bishops of the Scottish Church, and to have no power or jurisdiction as such.[1]

On the 19th of the same month the clergy of Edinburgh met to elect a bishop

[1] Grub's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, vol. iv., pp. 3, 5, 6. Skinner's Ecclesiastical History, vol. ii., p. 623, etc.

for the diocese. Among them, and voting with them, were two of the *College Bishops* —Ranken and Gillan! The result of the election was the consecration, on the 2d of November, at Edinburgh, by Bishops Cant, Rattray, and Keith, of Andrew Lumsden, an aged presbyter, once archdeacon of Edinburgh; and again the *Usagers* or Diocesan Party had occasion to rejoice.

Bishop Ranken died in 1728; and two years later, during which time no new consecrations took place, Bishop Cant fell asleep.

In the meantime Bishop Lumsden manifested no partiality for either side, and Bishop Keith, representing the *Usagers*, and Bishop Gillan, speaking for the *College Party*, were in frequent conference.

At last, in December, 1731, a *concordate* was drawn up, which terminated the controversy. It was agreed:

1. That the Scottish or English Liturgy only should be used in the public divine service; and that none of the usages which had caused recent differences should be introduced into the public worship;

2. That no man should thereafter be

consecrated a bishop of the Scottish Church without the consent and approbation of the majority of the other bishops;

3. That a mandate from the Primus or the consent of the other bishops should be necessary to the election of a bishop by the presbyters of a vacant diocese;

4. That the Primus, for convocating and presiding only, should be chosen by the bishops, by a majority of the voices;

5. That Bishop Freebairn should be the first Primus, to serve as above noted;

6. That the bishops should be diocesan, and distributed as herein designated.

VII

UNCANONICAL BISHOPS

1553–1558

In the year 1534, on the last of March, the convocation of the province of Canterbury prepared and signed an instrument with this title: "Quod Romanus episcopus non habet majorem aliquam jurisdictionem a Deo sibi collatam in hoc regno Angliæ quam quivis externus episcopus"—*The bishop of Rome hath not any greater jurisdiction conferred upon him by God in this realm of England than any other foreign bishop.* On June 1st, of the same year, the convocation of the province of York sent the king a sort of an address, renouncing the pope's supremacy in very similar terms, and expressly declaring "that, by the word of God, he has no more jurisdiction in England than any other bishop." The learned Henry Wharton had (1690) in his own hands "no less than one hundred and seventy-five such instruments," repudiating the pope's authority, "containing the subscriptions of all the bishops, chapters, monasteries, colleges, hospitals, etc., of thirteen dioceses," and was aware of the existence of the subscriptions of the other nine dioceses.

No one pretends that these instruments were ever duly withdrawn, repealed, or altered by the same ecclesiastical legislature duly convened. And yet, on the accession of Queen Mary, "no less than thirteen bishops were deprived without pretence of ecclesiastical law as received by the Church of England; and others irregularly intruded into their sees" by authority of the bishop of Rome.

CHAPTER VII

UNCANONICAL BISHOPS

On the deprivation and imprisonment of the lawful primate, Thomas Cranmer, sixteen bishops were consecrated *more Romano*, in one of the provinces of the English Church, and thrust into the sees that had been forcibly vacated. Of these sixteen consecrations, but four are duly entered in the register at Lambeth. Where and by whom the others were effected does not appear, no record of them occuring in the muniments of Lambeth, London, or Canterbury.

The four uncanonical bishops, of whose consecration to English sees there is record, were :

Reginald Pole, consecrated (March 22, 1555) to Canterbury, by Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York ; Edmund Bonner, bishop of London ; Thomas Thirlby, bish-

op of Ely; Richard Pates, bishop of Worcester; John Whyte, bishop of Lincoln; Maurice Griffith, bishop of Rochester; and Thomas Goldwell, bishop of S. Asaph.

Thomas Watson, consecrated (August 15, 1557) to the see of Lincoln, by the archbishop of York and the bishops of Ely and Bangor.

David Poole, consecrated (August 15, 1557) to the see of Peterborough, by the archbishop of York and the bishops of Ely and Bangor.

John Christopher, consecrated (November 21, 1557) to the see of Chichester, by the bishops of London, Ely, and Rochester.

The twelve uncanonical bishops of this reign, whose consecrations are not noted in the official registers of the Church, were:

John Whyte, consecrated to Lincoln, one of the consecrators of Reginald Pole;

Richard Pates, consecrated to Worcester, one of the consecrators of Reginald Pole;

Maurice Griffith, consecrated to Rochester, one of the consecrators of Reginald Pole;

Thomas Goldwell, consecrated to S. As-

aph, one of the consecrators of Reginald Pole;

Gilbert Brown, consecrated to Bath and Wells;

Henry Morgan, consecrated to S. David's;

John Hopton, consecrated to Norwich;

John Holyman, consecrated to Bristol;

Ralph Baines, consecrated to Lichfield;

William Glynne, consecrated to Bangor;

James Brooks, consecrated to Gloucester;

James Turberville, consecrated to the see of Exeter.

On the accession of Elizabeth, all bishops uncanonically consecrated in and for the Church of England were ejected from the sees into which they had been intruded; and it does not appear that they attempted to institute a Roman succession in the realm.

The only bishops of the province of Canterbury at this date, who had been consecrated consonant to the ecclesiastical regulations of the country, were the eight who had been raised to the episcopal order before the enthronement of Mary, *viz.:*

Salisbury, suffragan of Thetford;

Barlow, who had been bishop of Wells, one of the consecrators of Matthew Parker.

Hodgskins, suffragan of Bedford, one of the consecrators of Matthew Parker, *and the only one of the seven consecrators of Reginald Pole whose line of succession can be traced;*

Bonner, bishop of London, *protégé* of Cardinal Wolsey, chaplain to Henry VIII., ambassador to France, Germany, and Rome, prisoner in the Fleet, and later, committed to the Marshalsea and deprived of his see (1549) for neglect of the cause of the Reformation, restored by Mary, one of the consecrators of Reginald Pole—uncanonically raised (1555) to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury;

Thirlby, bishop of Ely, one of the consecrators of Reginald Pole, and assessor with Bonner in the public degradation (1556) of Cranmer;

Kitchen, bishop of Llandaff, "the calamity of his see," who alone of all the surviving diocesans took the oath of supremacy to Elizabeth;

Coverdale, who had been bishop of Exeter, one of the consecrators of Matthew Parker.

Scory, who had formerly held the see of Chichester, one of the consecrators of Matthew Parker.

But three of these eight held and administered sees when the new government came in, and two of them (Bonner and Thirlby) "were incapacitated, as well because they had been instrumental in the murder of their metropolitan, as because they pertinaciously adhered to the authority of the bishop of Rome, which had been duly and canonically renounced by the Church of England, and which they had themselves abjured."

Nicholas Heath, archbishop of York, one of the consecrators of Reginald Pole, also survived to this reign. Consecrated to Rochester (1540) in the time of Henry VIII., translated to Worcester in 1543, and to the archiepiscopal see of York in 1555, he was deprived for refusing to repudiate the jurisdiction of Rome over the English Church, and went to live on his estate in Surrey.

Every see but Llandaff was now vacant; but its occupant had been canonically consecrated thereto in the days of Henry VIII.

VIII

PARKER *versus* POLE

1555–1559

"The case, as regards the English succession, may be thus stated. The present protestant archbishops and bishops of the State Church possess the titles and temporalities of the ancient sees, and trace their descent by way of episcopal ordinations from Matthew Parker, who was consecrated to the see of Canterbury by order of Queen Elizabeth on the 15th of December, 1559. The fact that he was consecrated to that see in the year stated is beyond dispute. That he was ever validly consecrated is denied by Catholic, and maintained by protestant, authorities."

"The validity of Parker's consecration depends upon two questions: firstly, was he consecrated by a bishop who had himself been validly consecrated ? and, secondly, was the ritual, used at his consecration, sufficient to confer valid episcopal ordination ? "

"The four ex-prelates who are named as the consecrators of Parker, cannot be said to have transmitted to him any ecclesiastical jurisdiction whatever. Persons can only transmit that which they themselves possess."—*Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy of England and Scotland.* W. Maziere Brady, Rome, 1877.

CHAPTER VIII

PARKER *versus* POLE

MATTHEW PARKER

The record of the consecration of Archbishop Parker is to be found in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, as well as in the register at Lambeth.

In the latter document the preface runs:

"Rituum et Ceremoniarum ordo in Consecratione Reverendissimi Dni Matthei Parker, Archiepi Cantuar in Capellâ infra Manerium suum de Lambehith die Dominico (videlicet) Decimo Septimo die Mensis Decembris, Anno Domini Millesimo Quingentesimo Quinquagesimo Nono."

In each of the registers it is noted that his consecrators were

William *Chichester*,
John *Hereford*,
John *Bedford*,
Miles, *late Exeter*.

Doubt has been expressed as to the episcopal character of William Barlow. No record of the time, place, or manner of his consecration can be found. But what of the three other consecrators?

John Hodgskins was certainly consecrated suffragan of Bedford, December 9, 1537, and his consecrators were John *London* (Stokesley), John *Rochester* (Hilsey), and Robert *St. Asaph* (Parfew). And in Lambeth registry it stands that Robert Parfew, or Wharton, was duly consecrated July 2, 1536, to the see of St. Asaph, by Thomas *Canterbury*, John *Bangor* (Capon), and William *Norwich* (Rugg).

Of Miles Coverdale and John Scory, it is likewise on record that they were consecrated bishops August 30, 1551, by Thomas *Canterbury*, Nicholas *London* (Ridley), and John *Bedford* (Hodgskins).

According to the Lambeth register, Matthew Parker was not consecrated by one bishop with others assisting, but *by all the four bishops conjointly.* There can be no question that three of these consecrators, at least, were in the succession, and that Archbishop Parker's episcopal descent can

be traced, by *the records*, through three undisputed channels which link him to Archbishop Warham and Cardinal Fisher.

The two documents (Archbishop Parker's register at Lambeth, and a manuscript among Parker's papers at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge) are also official records of the facts that Matthew Parker was consecrated at the chapel at Lambeth, and not at Nag's Head; and that the rite used at his consecration was the duly appointed ordinal of the Church of England.

REGINALD POLE

Among the sixteen bishops uncanonically consecrated and intruded into English sees, during the reign of Queen Mary, Reginald Pole, cardinal, is on record, in Pole's register at Lambeth, as having been consecrated to Canterbury (March 22, 1555) by Nicholas *York* (Heath), Edmund *London* (Bonner), Thomas *Ely* (Thirlby), Richard *Worcester* (Pates), John *Lincoln* (Whyte), Maurice *Rochester* (Griffith), and Thomas *St. Asaph* (Goldwell).

Of the consecration of Richard Pates no record can be found.

Of the consecration of John Whyte no record can be found.

Of the consecration of Maurice Griffith no record can be found.

Of the consecration of Thomas Goldwell no record can be found.

Nicholas Heath is on record as having been consecrated by Stephen *Winchester* (Gardiner), Richard *Chichester* (Sampson), and John *Hereford* (Skypp); but of the consecrations of Stephen Gardiner, Richard Sampson, and John Skypp no record can be found.

Edmund Bonner is on record as having been consecrated by Stephen *Winchester*, Richard *Chichester*, and John *Hereford*; but of the consecrations of the consecrators no record can be found.

Thomas Thirlby is on record as having been consecrated by Edmund Bonner, Nicholas Heath, and John Hodgskins; but of the consecrations of the consecrators of Bonner and Heath no record can be found.

The episcopal character of John Hodgskins, however, is beyond dispute. Not

only is there due record of his consecration by John *London* (Stokesley), John *Rochester* (Hilsey), and Robert *St. Asaph* (Parfew), but one of them at least (Robert Parfew) is registered as having been consecrated by Thomas *Canterbury*, John *Bangor*, and William *Norwich*.

The Church of Rome maintains the validity of the consecration of Reginald Pole. But the line of succession of only *one* of his seven consecrators can be duly traced. And John Hodgskins, suffragan of Bedford, was also one of the consecrators, four years later, of Matthew Parker!

IX

MISSING BISHOPS

1535–1784

CHAPTER IX

MISSING BISHOPS

The names of the consecrators of Edward Fox, said to have been bishop of Hereford from 1535, are not recorded in the register at Lambeth, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of Hugh Latimer, said to have been bishop of Worcester from 1535, are not recorded in the register at Lambeth, nor is there note there of his consecration, although his resignation (1539) is mentioned.

The names of the consecrators of Richard Sampson, said to have been made bishop of Chichester, 1536, and to have been translated to Coventry, 1543, are not recorded in the register at Lambeth, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of William Rugg, said to have been bishop of Norwich

from 1536, are not recorded in the register at Lambeth, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of William Barlow, said to have been made bishop of St. Asaph, 1536, to have been translated to St. David's the same year, to Bath and Wells, 1549, and to Chichester, 1559, are not in the register at Lambeth, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of John Hilsey, said to have been made bishop of Rochester, 1536, are not recorded in the register at Lambeth, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of John Skypp, said to have been made bishop of Hereford, 1539, are not recorded in the register at Lambeth, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of John Bell, said to have been made bishop of Worcester, 1539, are not recorded in the register at Lambeth, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of George Day, said to have been made bishop of

Chichester, 1543, are not recorded in the register at Lambeth, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of twelve of the sixteen uncanonical bishops of Queen Mary's [1] reign, are not recorded in the registers of Lambeth, London, or Canterbury, nor does it appear where they were made bishops.

The names of the consecrators of Richard Pates (Worcester), John Whyte (Lincoln), Maurice Griffith (Rochester), and Thomas Goldwell (St. Asaph), four of the consecrators of Reginald Pole (1555), cannot be found, nor is there record of the consecrations of these four consecrators.

The names of the consecrators of Stephen Gardiner (Winchester), Richard Sampson (Chichester), and John Skypp (Hereford)—the consecrators of Nicholas Heath (York), and Edmund Bonner (London), two of the consecrators of Reginald Pole—have not been recorded, nor is there note of their consecrations.

The names of the consecrators of William Downham, said to have been made bishop

[1] See chapter on *Uncanonical Bishops.*

of Chester, 1561, are not recorded in the register, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of James Stanley, said to have been made bishop of Sodor, 1573, are not recorded in the register, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of John May, said to have been made bishop of Carlisle, 1577, are not recorded in the register, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of George Lloyd, said to have been made bishop of Sodor, 1600, and to have been translated to Chester, 1604, are not recorded in the register, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of John Spottiswoode, Andrew Lamb, and Gavin Hamilton (consecrated, respectively, to the sees of Glasgow, Brechin, and Galloway, and through whom the Sydserf line of Scottish bishops (which terminated (1663) on the death of Sydserf, bishop of Orkney),

derived the succession) are not found in the usual record-book; but the mandate for the consecration, directed to George *London*, Launcelot *Ely*, Richard *Rochester*, and Henry *Worcester*, is in Archbishop Bancroft's register; and Bishop Keith, in his "Catalogue of Scottish Bishops," affirms that the consecrations took place at London House, October 21, 1610, the consecrators being George *London*, Launcelot *Ely*, and James *Bath and Wells*.

Unless the registers of St. Andrews are still in existence, there would seem to be no official record (with but two exceptions —that of John Paterson, consecrated by Robert *Glasgow* and Alexander *Edinburgh*, to Galloway in 1674; and that of Arthur Ross, consecrated to Argyll, 1675, by the same prelates) of the consecrations or the consecrators of the Scottish bishops from George Wishart, consecrated bishop of Edinburgh, 1662, to John Gordon, consecrated bishop of Galloway, 1688, inclusive. The other ecclesiastical records of the Church of Scotland are said to have been burnt in the fire which destroyed the Houses of Parliament, whither the collection had

been taken, for the nonce, from the library of Sion College, London, where they had been deposited by Bishop Campbell, one of the Scottish Nonjurors resident in England. Twenty-eight bishops are thus without a duly authenticated episcopal pedigree.[1]

The names of the consecrators of Barnabas Potter, said to have been made bishop of Carlisle, 1628, are not recorded in the register, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of William Forster, said to have been made bishop of Sodor, March 9, 1633, are not recorded in the register, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of Richard Parr, said to have been made bishop of Sodor, June 10, 1635, are not recorded in

[1] John Parker Lawson says, in his "History of the Scottish Episcopal Church from the Revolution to the Present Time" (1843), that "there may probably be some documents in the General Register House, Edinburgh; for the proceedings at every consecration must have been reported to the Scottish Privy Council, and by them to the Sovereign in England" (p. 578).

the register, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of John Owen, said to have been made bishop of St. Asaph during the reign of Charles II., are not recorded in the register, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of Henry Ferne, said to have been made bishop of Chester, 1662, are not recorded in the register, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of Edward Rainbow, said to have been made bishop of Carlisle, 1664, are not recorded in the register, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of Walter Blanford, said to have been made bishop of Oxford, 1665, are not recorded in the register, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of John Wilkins, said to have been made bishop of Chester, 1668, are not recorded in the register, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of Henry Bridgeman, said to have been made bishop of Sodor, 1671, are not recorded in the register, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The license for the consecration of John Pearson to the see of Chester, is found on the Lambeth records, and is dated January 13, 1672, but the names of his consecrators are not entered, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The license for the consecration of John Lake to the see of Sodor is on record, but not the date of consecration, or names of the consecrators, or the fact of his consecration. He is said to have been consecrated January 6, 1682; to have been translated to Bristol 1684; and to Chichester 1685.

The names of the consecrators of Thomas Smith, said to have been made bishop of Carlisle, 1684, are not recorded in the register, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The license for the consecration of Baptist Levins to the see of Sodor is on record, but not the names of his consecrators,

nor is there note there of his consecration, 1684.

The names of the consecrators of Nicholas Stafford, said to have been made bishop of Chester, 1689, are not recorded on the register, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of William Dawes, said to have been made bishop of Chester, 1707, are not recorded in the register, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of Francis Gastrell, said to have been made bishop of Chester, 1719, are not recorded in the register, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of John Waugh, said to have been made bishop of Carlisle, 1723, are not recorded in the register, nor is there note there of his consecration.

The names of the consecrators of Claudius Crigan, said to have been made bishop of Sodor, 1784, are not recorded in the register, nor is there record there of his consecration.

X

THE ENGLISH NONJURORS

1688–1805

William and Mary having been declared to be king and queen of England, the new oath of allegiance was taken by the two Houses of Parliament in March, 1688–9, the lords spiritual dividing. The archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Lincoln, Bristol, Winchester, Rochester, Llandaff, and St. Asaph's, and subsequently the bishops of Carlisle and St. David's, transferred their fealty to the new sovereigns in these words:—"I, A. B., do sincerely promise and swear to bear true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary."

Nine others considered that the oath of allegiance they had once taken to King James could not be revoked, and refused to nullify it by doing like homage to another.

CHAPTER X

THE ENGLISH NONJURORS[1]

The nine prelates of the Church of England who refused to swear allegiance to William and Mary (1688–9), and suffered deprivation therefor, were: The Deprivation.

William Sancroft, archbishop of Canterbury. This is he who attended Charles II. on his death-bed (February, 1685), and crowned James II. (May 3, 1685), and who, refusing to read James's Declaration of Indulgence in public, was confined in the Tower, tried, and acquitted with six other prelates. Deprived (February, 1691), he retired to Suffolk, the place of his birth, where he died (1693) in Fresingfield.

William Lloyd, consecrated (1675) to Llandaff, translated (1679) to Peterbor-

[1] See the chapters on *The Scottish Nonjurors*, *The College Bishops*, and *The Usagers*.

ough, and thence (1685) to Norwich. To this deprived prelate the deprived Sancroft, ignoring the consecration of Tillotson to the primatial see, to which a majority (16 to 6) of the twenty-two bishops of the provinces had consented, and at which six at least had assisted, delegated, by a formal instrument dated the 9th of February, 1691–2, the exercise of his archiepiscopal powers; and acting as his "Vicar, Factor, and Proxy-General, or Nuncio," this deprived bishop of Norwich did, with the assistance of the deprived bishops of Peterborough and Ely, on the 24th of February, 1693, after Sancroft's death, and in the lodging of the bishop of Peterborough, in a private house, consecrate George Hickes as suffragan of Thetford, and Thomas Wagstaffe, suffragan of Ipswich; on which day a schism was inaugurated which lasted one hundred and twelve years, even until the death (1805) of Boothe, the last of the *Separatists.*

Thomas White, bishop of Peterborough. Evelyn mentions him as a very eloquent preacher, notes his imprisonment in the Tower with the other prelates, for "not

reading the Declaration for liberty of conscience," and, under date of June 5, 1698, gives this account of his funeral: "Dr. White, late bishop of Norwich, who had been ejected for not complying with government, was buried in St. Gregory's churchyard or vault at St. Paul's. His hearse was accompanied by two other Non-juror Bishops, Dr. Turner of Ely, and Dr. Lloyd, with forty other Non-juror clergymen, who would not stay the office of the burial, because the dean of St. Paul's had appointed a Conforming Minister to read the office; at which all much wondered, there being nothing in that office which mentioned the present king." He was one of the three deprived bishops who, not content to suffer in silence after the manner of Ken and others, resolved on the perpetuation of their succession.

Francis Turner, bishop of Ely. Master of St. John's College, Cambridge (1670), dean of Windsor (1683), bishop of Rochester (1683), translated to Ely (1684), one of the famous seven confined in the Tower, suspended and deprived with Sancroft and Turner, he died in very strait-

ened circumstances, but not before he had taken part in the consecration of the two divines nominated by the dethroned king to continue the succession of bishops faithful to the fallen dynasty. His body lies in the chancel of the church of Therfield, Herts, where he was once rector, the one word EXPERGISCAR! appearing on the stone.

Thomas Ken, bishop of Bath and Wells, a graduate of Winchester College (1666), prebendary of the cathedral (1667), chaplain to Mary at the court of William of Orange, at The Hague (1679), presented to the bishopric by the king, whose mistress (Nell Gwynn) he had refused to lodge in Winchester on the occasion of her visit to the city, one of the seven bishops to incur the wrath of James because of their attitude toward the Declaration of Indulgence,—this man, on being deprived of his see, retired to Longleat, in Somersetshire, where he closed his life (1711), preferring retirement to reinstatement in his bishopric on the death (1703) of his successor.

Robert Frampton, bishop of Gloucester.

This was the man of whom Pepys said that he preached most like an apostle that he ever heard man; but, being deprived, he withdrew from the public ministrations of the sanctuary, and was content to catechize each afternoon, as occasion offered, the children of the parish church, with which he had connected himself, and expound the rector's sermon of the morning. He died (1708) at the age of eighty-six, and was buried privately at Standish, in Gloucestershire.

John Lake, bishop of Chichester. He was one of the bishops in the Tower, and, dying before the day fixed for the Oath, he dictated, with his last breath, the memorable profession: "Whereas I was baptized into the religion of the Church of England, and sucked it in with my milk, I have constantly adhered to it through the whole course of my life, and now, if so be the will of God, shall die in it: and I had resolved, through God's grace assisting me, to have died so, though at a stake."

William Thomas, bishop of Worcester, translated (1685) from St. David's. He died before the act of deprivation.

Thomas Cartwright, bishop of Chester, who also died the same year.

The new consecrations, for which Bishops Lloyd, White, and Turner were responsible, prolonged the line of cleavage in the English Church.

The Schism.

The schism now assumed minatory proportions.

Dr. George Hickes was not the man to suffer the new line of succession to terminate in him. That he felt himself "every inch a bishop" is evident from his *Letters of Orders* to Laurence Howell (1712): "Tenore Præsentium, Nos Georgius Hickes, permissione divinâ Episcopus Suffraganeus Thetfordiensis, notum facimus universis, quod nos præfectus Episcopus. . . ." The deprived bishops took no other steps to appoint successors. But when White, Turner, Frampton, Ken, and Wagstaffe were dead, this suffragan did, with the help of two bishops of Scotland (Archibald Campbell and James Gadderar), elevate to the episcopate, on the third day of June, 1713, Jeremy Collier, the essayist

and historian, Samuel Hawes, and Nathaniel Spinckes.

Hickes dead, Collier, who subscribed himself JEREMIAS, PRIMUS-ANGLO-BRITANNIÆ EPISCOPUS, proceeded, with the assistance of Hawes, Spinckes, Campbell, and Gadderar, to consecrate (June 26, 1716, or, according to another authority, January 25, 1715) to the episcopal office Henry Gandy, a bitter partisan and controversialist, and Thomas Brett, ordained in the Church of England, 1690, and admitted into the society of the Nonjurors but a few months previous to his consecration as bishop, a man of letters and great ability, the choice, presumably, of Suffragan Hickes.

But schism leads to schism—in the Church as in the protamœba.

The Separation.

Collier and Brett having introduced and adopted a *New Communion Office*, Spinckes, Hawes, and Candy, who adhered to the (1661) Book of Common Prayer, resolved on the consecration of some bishops opposed to the *Usages*, and, accordingly, on the 25th day of January, 1720, raised Hilkiah Bedford and Ralph Taylor to the episcopate.

Hawes dying, 1722, and Bedford following him two years later, Taylor proceeded, unassisted, to the consecration (1723–4) of Robert Welton, and then he and Welton, the same year, went on and made a bishop out of a man named Talbot.

But if a single bishop can make a bishop, it is not in the power of a single bishop to secure the recognition of the work of his hands by the other bishops of his communion. And so it was that Welton and Talbot were compelled to seek occupation and jurisdiction in the American Colonies. The former went to Philadelphia, where he exercised the episcopal functions until, complaint being entered by the bishop of London, the government interfered, and he retired to Portugal, where he died 1726. Talbot took the oaths and returned to the Church of England.

At last Taylor died also. And then Spinckes and Gandy, the survivors, secured the episcopal services of John Fullarton, Arthur Millar, William Irvine, and David Freebairn (Scottish bishops all); and Henry Doughty, on the 30th day of March, 1725, was consecrated by them for their friends in England.

In the same year, a month or two later, John Blackburn and Henry Hall were raised to the episcopate by Spinckes, Gandy, and the newly consecrated Doughty.

In 1727 Spinckes was translated to Paradise; and of him it has been written that "he had no wealth, few enemies, many friends. His exemplary life was concluded by a happy death. His patience was great; his self-denial greater; his charity still greater."

The next year (March 25) the leader of this section of the Nonjurors, Richard Rawlinson, was elevated to the episcopate by Gandy, Doughty, and Blackburn. And on the 26th day of December, of the same year, George Smith was consecrated bishop by Gandy, Blackburn, and Rawlinson.

The Usagers, or The Essentialists.

The Prayer-Book party having (1720) consecrated two bishops to perpetuate the succession in their line, the other section of the Nonjurors proceeded to increase the number of their bishops, and on the 25th day of November, 1722, John Griffin was

raised to the episcopal office by Collier, Brett, and Archibald Campbell—one of the Nonjuring bishops of Scotland.

In the year 1726 Collier died, and the surviving prelates of the *Usagers*, unwilling that their section should lack for bishops, went on the next year (April 9) to the consecration of Thomas Brett, *junior*, on whose head Brett, *senior*, Griffin, and the ever-ready Scotch Campbell laid their uplifting hands.

Re-union.

By the year 1730 the two sections were "ready and desirous" to meet again in one communion; and when Timothy Mawman was raised (July 17, 1731) to the episcopate, his consecrators were Thomas Brett, *senior*, Thomas Brett, *junior* (both of the Collier line), and George Smith (of the Spinckes succession). John Blackburn, consecrated (May 6, 1725)by Nathaniel Spinckes, alone objected to the re-union, probably on the ground of the *usages*, which he could not stomach, resolved to live and die a representative of the Church of England, "as she stood at the period of the separation."

The bishop, no doubt, voiced the sentiments of his colleagues, when in reply to the question of a friend, he said: "We leave the sees open, that the gentlemen who now possess them, upon the restoration, may, if they please, return to their duty, and be continued. We content ourselves with full episcopal power as suffragans." The good old bishop, who had become a proof-reader, departed this life on the 17th of November, 1741, and was buried in Islington churchyard, where, according to Nichols, this epitaph occurs:

HIC SITUM EST QUOD MORTALE FUIT
VIRI VERE REVERENDI
JOHANNIS BLACKBOURNE, A.M.
ECCLESIÆ ANGLICANÆ PRESBYTERI,
PONTIFICORUM ÆQUE AC NOVATORUM MALLEI,
DOCTI, CLARI, STRENUI, PROMPTI:
QUI (UTI VERBO DICAM) CÆTERA ENIM QUIS NESCIT?
CUM EO NON DIGNUS ERAT,
USQUE ADEO DEGENER, MUNDUS,
AD BEATORUM SEDES
TRANSLATUS EST, 17° DIE NOVEMBRIS
A.D. MDCCXLI. ÆTAT. SUÆ LVIII.

In the year 1741 (June 11), Robert Gordon was raised to the episcopate by Thomas Brett, *senior*, George Smith, and Timothy Mawman; and when he died (1779) this line became extinct.

Uncanonical Bishops.

About the time of the termination of the disputes respecting the *usages*, Archibald Campbell—that regionary and irresponsible Scottish bishop (who aforetime had joined his uncle, the earl of Argyll, in his insurrection against James VII., and had subsequently, devoted to the interests of the house of Stuart, refused the oath of allegiance to William and Mary), elected (1721) to the see of Aberdeen, after being ten years a bishop without a diocese and a resident of London to the end—acting by his own authority, consecrated (1733) Roger Lawrence, the author of "Lay Baptism Invalid," thus initiating another line of Nonjuring bishops, and one obnoxious to the regular Nonjurors, as requiring the presence of one bishop only at a consecration.

The same year, as it would appear, Campbell and Lawrence united to raise Thomas

Deacon, the author of "The Doctrine of the Church of Rome," to the episcopate; and, in due course of time, Thomas Deacon made a bishop out of P. J. Brown, a brother, as has been supposed, of the earl of Annandale.

In 1780, Thomas Deacon consecrated Kenrick Price and William Cartwright, who on his death-bed (1799) conformed to the Church of England and was communicated by one of her clergy.

Before his death, however, Cartwright raised (1795) Thomas Garnett to the episcopate; and shortly after Thomas Garnett consecrated Charles Boothe.

But every schism has its end. And in 1805, when Charles Boothe died in Ireland, the last line of Nonjuring bishops became extinct.

In the year 1840 the crozier which had been used by them was in the possession of John Crossley, Esq., of Scaitcliffe, near Todmorden.

AUTHORITIES FOR THIS CHAPTER:

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XI

THE IRISH NONJURORS

1688–1716

CHAPTER XI

THE IRISH NONJURORS

As the accession of William and Mary scarcely affected the unity of the Irish Church, a few words will serve to describe the situation.

Hopkins, bishop of Derry, endeavored to dissuade the apprentices of that city from closing the gates against the troops of James.

Dopping, bishop of Meath, was desirous to accompany the king to the battle of the Boyne.

Dopping, Otway of Ossory, Digby of Limerick, and Wetenbell of Cork and Ross, sat in the parliament convened in Dublin by the unfortunate monarch, before the throne was acknowledged lost.

Two bishops only refused to take the oaths to the new government:

Sheridan, bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh,

who took refuge in England, where he was supported by the contributions of sympathizing prelates, and where he died (1716) in great poverty, the father, however, of two bishops; and

Otway, bishop of Ossory, who, somehow, contrived to hold his see till death (1693) deprived him.

AUTHORITY FOR THIS CHAPTER:

Bishop Mant: *History of the Church of Ireland.*

XII

ROMAN TITULARS IN ENGLAND

1623–1850

In the year 1559, fourteen bishops of the Italian Church, resident or acting in England, many of whom had been uncanonically consecrated in the preceding reign, were deprived for refusing the oath of supremacy to the queen; and after that, for three hundred years save nine, that Church had only titulars in the realm.

CHAPTER XII

ROMAN TITULARS IN ENGLAND

Thomas Watson, the last bishop of Lincoln to profess obedience to the see of Rome, dying in prison in Wisbeach Castle, September, 1584; and Thomas Goldwell, the last Roman prelate of St. Asaph, dying in Italy, April, 1585,—the hierarchy of the Italian Church in England became extinct.

In the year 1587, Sixtus V., bishop of Rome, created the Rev. William Allen, a cardinal-priest, "Prefect of the English Mission," assigning to him the title of S. Martin *in montibus*, and placing "the relics of Catholicism" under his care. Three years later, Gregory XIV. appointed Cardinal Allen librarian of the Vatican, and conferred on him the archbishopric of

Malines, of which, however, he never took possession. In 1594 the cardinal was overtaken by death in Rome.

Archpriests in England.

In the year 1598, one George Blackwell, B.D., scholar of Trinity College, Oxford (1562), fellow and master of arts in 1567, a pervert in 1574, was appointed "archpriest of England," by command of Clement VIII., bishop of Rome; and for twenty-three years more (1598–1621) the Italian mission in England was without a resident episcopal superintendent, its affairs being administered by a series of archpriests (George Blackwell, 1598–1608; George Birkhead, 1608–1614; William Harrison 1615–1621), constituted each in turn "Head of the Secular Priests sent to England from the Seminary of Douay and Rome," to whom faculty was given to rule, suspend, or admonish all secular priests, and from whom the bishop of Rome was to receive every six months an account of the state of the mission.

Of these three archpriests, Blackwell

was deprived of his office by the bishop of Rome (1608) because of his advocacy of the usual oath to the king; and William Harrison (the last of them) was granted "facultates pro archipresbytero Angliæ, in regnis Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, Monæ, et aliis locis dominii regis Magnæ Britanniæ, ac pro personis eorundem regnorum et dominiorum tantum," the brief being dated 11 July, 1615.

Intruded Titular Bishops.

In the year 1623, William Bishop, student at Gloucester Hall, Oxford (1570–3), "apostate to Papestrie" (1574), then at Douay, Rheims, and Rome, in the English College, where he took the mission oath, doctor of the Sorbonne, member of the controversialist community in Arras College, Paris—was consecrated bishop of Chalcedon, in Asia, *in partibus infidelium*, and made "vicar apostolic of England," where he died the next year, after the administration of confirmation to the members of his communion in and near London, living there, conccaled, in great

retirement. This titular bishop was given jurisdiction over Scotland as well as England; but the bishop of Rome was compelled, by reason of the ancient and inveterate enmity existing between the two nations, to order him to abstain from interference with ecclesiastical affairs among the Scots.

In the year 1625, Richard Smith, student of Trinity College, Oxford (*circ.* 1583), then of the English College, Rome, where (1587) he took the mission oath, then teacher of philosophy in the English College at Valladolid (1595–98), a priest on the English mission (1603), later the chief of the controversialist community of Arras College, Paris—was consecrated bishop of Chalcedon *in partibus infidelium*, and sent to England to succeed the late Bishop Bishop, his consecrator being Cardinal Spada, the nuncio to France. But it fared not well with this titular. For, vexed at the decision of his master in Rome (which gave him to understand that he had not been created *Episcopus Angliæ*, but *Episcopus Calcedonen. in Asia*, with faculties limited and revocable *ad nutum ipsius Sedis Apostolicæ*,

that the judgment of all disputes was reserved to the Holy See alone, and that missionaries might exercise their faculties without waiting or asking for his approval), he resigned his see in hot haste, and "found no place for repentance, though he sought it carefully with tears." The nuncio and the bishop of Rome would not listen to his petition to be allowed to withdraw his resignation; and the ex-bishop, who had departed into France (1629), never returned to England, but spent the remaining years of his life in the convent of the Augustinian nuns at Paris, where he died 1655.

Fifty years and more intervened before it was found practicable by the head of the Italian Church to intrude another bishop into England. At last, in the year 1685, the Propaganda elected John Leyburne, a doctor of the Sorbonne, president of Douay College, to be "vicar apostolic of all England," and in the same year, on the 9th of September, he was consecrated at Rome to the see of Adrametum *in partibus sub archiepiscopo Ephesino*, and, on arriving in London, was lodged with the king (James II.),

and in 1687 made a visitation of the northern counties, administering confirmation (from January to June) to 20,859 men, women, and children.

In the year 1688 England was divided by Ferdinand d'Adda, archbishop of Amasis, the nuncio to James II., acting by order of the Propaganda and the bishop of Rome, into four districts (London, Midland, Northern, Western), to each of which a "vicar apostolic" was assigned, with titles *in partibus*, and with faculties limited *ad nostrum et Sedis Apostolicæ beneplacitum;* and in the year 1840 these were subdivided into eight districts, with a titular bishop to each, who continued to administer the affairs of their respective jurisdictions until the restoration of the Italian hierarchy in the realm (the "letters apostolic" granting and confirming which were given at Rome, at St. Peter's, "under the Fisherman's ring," the 29th day of September, 1850, in the fifth year of the pontificate of Pius IX.), when Nicholas Patrick Stephen Wiseman, "vicar apostolic" of the former London district, was

translated from the see of Melipotamus *in partibus infidelium* to the archbishopric of Westminster and raised to the cardinalate.

Between the years 1688 and 1840 the bishop of Rome intruded thirty-six titular bishops into England. The sort and manner of the consecration of some of them starts the question: Has Rome the succession?

The Hon. James Talbot (brother to the 14th Earl of Shrewsbury, and nephew to Gilbert, the 13th Earl of Shrewsbury, who was a Roman priest), elected by Propaganda *episcopus Birthani in partibus infidelium*, to act as co-adjutor to Bishop Challoner, of the London district, was consecrated (1759) by Dr. Challoner, assisted only by Dr. Petre, the bishop of Armoria *in partibus infidelium.*

Thomas Penswick, who (1831) succeeded Bishop Smith of the Northern district, *per coadjutoriam*, was consecrated (1824) to the see of Europum *in partibus* by Bishop Poynter, assisted by Bishop Smith *and a*

priest, the Very Rev. John Gillow, president of the college at Ushaw, who acted as assistant *episcopi loco*.[1]

Benjamin Petre, a secular priest of the English mission, elected by the Propaganda to the co-adjutorship of the London district *cum jure successionis*, and to the see of Prusa in Bithynia *in partibus* was consecrated (1721) by Bishop Giffard, of the see of Madaura *in partibus*, *assisted by three priests*, the very Reverend and Venerable James Barker, D.D.; the Rev. Rodolph Clayton, a missionary; and the Rev. Charles Umphrevill, D.D.!

The Rev. Richard Challoner, the son of a rigid Presbyterian, student at Douay (1704), professor of rhetoric and philosophy, and later vice-president of his Alma Mater, the author (1737) of "The Catholic

[1] During the thirty years' vacancy (1655–1685) Bishop Val. Maccioni, from Hannover, offered his services to Propaganda to travel *incognito* and consecrate a bishop for the head of the Italian mission in England, and suggested that *two mitred abbots* assist at the consecration, citing the precedent of the consecration of Monsignor Furstenburg's predecessor in the see of Paderborn, who was consecrated by the suffragan bishop of Osnaburg, assisted by *two mitred abbots!*

Christian," elected by the Propaganda to the co-adjutorship of the London district and to the see of Debra *in partibus*, was consecrated (1741) by Bishop Petre, *with the assistance of two priests.*

The Rev. Edward Dicconson, educated at Douay, where he took the oath in 1699, made procurator, 1701, professor of syntax and a senior, 1708–09, professor of poetry, 1709–10, professor of philosophy, 1711–12, vice-president and professor of theology, 1713–14, on the English mission from 1720, nominated by Benedict XIV. to the see of Malla *in partibus*, and successor to Bishop Williams, of the Northern district, was consecrated (1741) by Mgr. John Baptist Smits, bishop of Ghent, *assistentibus* (*ex dispensatione Pontificia loco duorum episcoporum*) *eximio D. Præside et Rev. D^no. Jacobo Whitenhall, presbyteris.*

John Hornyold, student of Douay, chaplain on the English mission to "the good Madam Giffard," author of "Explanations of the Apostles' Creed, of the Decalogue, and of the Sacraments," whose briefs for the co-adjutorship of the Midland district *cum jure successionis*, and for the see of

Philomelia *in partibus*, were issued 1751, was consecrated the following year, in Oxfordshire, by Bishop John Talbot Stonor, of the see of Thespiæ *in partibus*, *with the assistance of two priests.*

William Gibson, president of the English college at Douay, translator from the French of a work entitled, "The Truth of the Catholic Religion, proved from the Holy Scriptures," who succeeded to the headship of the Northern district *per obitum bonæ memoriæ Matthei fratris sui germani*, was consecrated to the see of Acanthus *in partibus* (1790) by Bishop Walmsley, of the see of Rama *in partibus*, *with the assistance of two priests*—the Rev. Charles Plowden, and the Rev. John Milner.

The Rev. Bonaventure Giffard, of Douay College, distinguished (1677) by the degree of doctor of divinity from the Sorbonne, chaplain to James II., and, by the king's appointment (1688), president of Magdalen College, Oxford, the first "vicar apostolic" of the Midland district, was consecrated (1688) to the see of Madaura

in partibus by Ferdinand d'Adda, archbishop of Amasis *in partibus* and nuncio in England, *without the assistance of any other ecclesiastic.*

Philip Ellis, the son of an Anglican clergyman, and brother to Sir William Ellis, secretary of state to the exiled James II., and to the Anglican bishop of Killala in Ireland (1705), a pupil at Westminster School, where he professed obedience to the bishop of Rome, of the Benedictine College of S. Gregory, Douay (1670), one of the chaplains and preachers of James II., at Windsor and St. James, the first "vicar apostolic" of the Western district, was consecrated (1688) to the see of Aureliopolis *in partibus* by Ferdinand d'Adda, archbishop of Amasis *in partibus, without the assistance of any other ecclesiastic.*

Charles Walmsley, educated at the Benedictine College at Douay, and at Paris, a mathematician, an astronomer, and a commentator, was consecrated (1756) co-adjutor *cum jure successionis* to the bishop of Nisibi *in partibus* (in charge of the Western district), with title of bishop of

Rama *in partibus*, by Cardinal Lanti, *unassisted.*

Gregory William Sharrock, O.S.B., prior of the Benedictine College of S. Gregory, at Douay, elected as co-adjutor *cum jure successionis* to Bishop Walmsley and to the see of Telmessa, in Lycia, *in partibus*, was consecrated (1780) by Bishop Walmsley, *unassisted.*

John Douglass, educated at Douay, professor of philosophy in the English College at Valladolid, Spain, a priest of the mission at Linton and, later, at York, elected to the see of Centuria *in partibus* and to the co-adjutorship of the London district, was consecrated (1790) by Dr. William Gibson, bishop of Acanthus *in partibus, unassisted.*

Gregory Stapleton, president of the English College of S. Omer and one of the Douay confessors at the time of the French Revolution, and first president of St. Edmund's College, in Hertfordshire, appointed "vicar apostolic" of the Midland district and bishop of Hierocæsaria *in partibus*, was consecrated (1801) by Bishop Douglass, titular bishop of Centuria *in partibus, unassisted.*

Bernardine Peter Collingridge, O. S. F., who took the habit in the Franciscan Convent of S. Bonaventura, at Douay, and became lector of philosophy there, and then lector of divinity, and later guardian of that convent, and subsequently president of the Franciscan Academy, at Baddesley, and (1806) provincial of the English Franciscans, elected to the co-adjutorship of the Western district, vacant *per renuntiationem Hieronymi Sharrock*, and *episcopus Thespiensi in partibus*, was consecrated (1807) by Dr. William Poynter *episcopus Haliensis in partibus, unassisted.*

No bishops belonging to the Roman obedience were intruded into England as "vicars apostolic" from 1585 to 1594; from 1598 to 1621; and from 1655 to 1685. During these three periods the Church of England was the only Church in the realm.

According to the report of the Abbe Airoldi, internuncio of Flanders, who passed over into England (1670) to examine into the affairs of religion in the realm, the Jesuits and the Franciscans resident

there were bitterly opposed to the introduction of a bishop among them, and protested strenuously against the re-establishment in England of the episcopal office.

The first episcopal consecration in England *more Romano*, after the rejection of the papal authority, was held in the Banqueting Hall, at Whitehall, April 22, (O.S.), 1688, when Bonaventure Giffard was made bishop of the see of Madaura *in partibus*, with a brief for the administration of the spiritual affairs of the Midland district. The consecrator was Ferdinand d'Adda, archbishop of Amasis *in partibus*, and nuncio in England.

The first public confirmation *ritu Catholico* in the kingdom, after the schism created by the bull of Pius V. (1569), was held in the year 1687, when John Leyburne, bishop of the see of Adrametum *in partibus sub archiepiscopo Ephisino*, visited the northern counties and administered the rite to some 20,000 individuals.

Other titular bishops (William Bishop, of the see of Chalcedon *in partibus* (1623),

notably and *imprimis*) had previously administered the rite, *with all secrecy*, to scattered members of the Roman communion.

James Smith, the first titular bishop of the Northern district (bishop of Callipolis *in partibus*, 1688–1712) assumed the names of Harper, Tarlton, and Brown, at various times, to avoid the penal laws.

George Witham, bishop of Marcopolis *in partibus*, and "vicar apostolic" of the Midland district (1716–1725), was known, on occasion, by the alias of Mr. "Markham."

In the year 1773 there was but one consecrated church in the whole Roman communion in the Northern district (*counties of Chester, Lancaster, York, Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, Durham, and Isle of Man*).

AUTHORITY FOR THIS CHAPTER:

Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy in England and Scotland, A.D. 1585–1876. W. Maziere Brady, Rome, 1877. The materials on which this compendium is based were derived from the archives of the Propaganda and of the English College, Rome, from the private archives of the Vatican, and the *Archivio di Stato*, Rome, and other authentic sources.

XIII

ROMAN TITULARS IN SCOTLAND

1695–1869

The first council called in Scotland by papal authority was that which was held at Roxburgh (1126) by John of Crema, cardinal-legate from Honorius II.

Reginald (*d.* 1225), nephew to Olave, the king of The Isles, and to Reginald, the ruler of Man, elected by the prince and clergy of Man, held the see against Nicholas, abbot of Furness, chosen by his own convent, consecrated by the archbishop of York, and supported by Honorius III.

In 1562 Adam Bothwell, prelate of the Italian Church in possession of the see of Orkney, joined Knox's party, being confirmed in the bishopric by Queen Mary, and aided and abetted the Presbyterians until his death in 1593, performing many ordinations.

About the same time Alexander Gordon, bishop of Galloway and titular archbishop of Athens, identified himself with the new movement, and even petitioned the General Assembly of 1562 for the position of "superintendent."

On the 5th of April, 1571, Archbishop Hamilton, of St. Andrews, the last Italian primate of Scotland, attainted and declared a traitor by the first parliament of the Regent Moray, for his alleged concern in the murder of Lord Darnley, was hanged on the bridge over the Forth at Stirling, "the only bishop who ever died by the hands of an executioner in Scotland."

In the year 1603, James Beaton, the Italian incumbent of the archiepiscopal see of Glasgow at the time of his flight (1560) to the continent from the effects of the Reformation, the last survivor of the old Roman succession in Scotland, died in Paris, in the enjoyment of the honors, dignities, and temporalities of his former see, which had been restored to him by a special act of Parliament (1598), without requiring his acknowledgment of the established religion.

CHAPTER XIII

ROMAN TITULARS IN SCOTLAND

In the year 1653 the Propaganda determined to restore the Roman Church in Scotland, and to that end established a mission there forthwith.

Forty-two years later the bishop of Rome approved of the election of Thomas Nicholson, of the family of Kemnay in Aberdeenshire, by the Congregation of Propaganda, as "vicar apostolic of Scotland;" and on the 27th day of February, 1695, the bishop-elect was consecrated to the see of Peristachium *in partibus infidelium*, by the bishops of Agen, Luçon, and Ypres, the ceremony being performed in the private chapel of the archbishop of Paris.

In the year 1706, on the 11th of April (Low Sunday), James Gordon was consecrated at Montefiascone, "with all secrecy," by Cardinal Barberigo, for the see of Nico-

polis *in partibus*, having previously (17th March) been designated co-adjutor to the "vicar apostolic" of Scotland; and on the death of Bishop Nicholson (1718) he succeeded *per coadjutoriam*.

In the year 1720, John Wallace, a Scotchman of Protestant parentage, private almoner to His Majesty King James, student at the Scots College in Paris, priest of the mission, having been appointed, on the nomination of Bishop Gordon, co-adjutor with succession, was consecrated in Edinburgh, "with all secrecy," but Propaganda never received the authentic acts and oath of consecration.

On the 23d of July, 1727, Benedict XIII., bishop of Rome, ratified the decree of Propaganda, of date December 17, 1726, creating two "vicariates" in Scotland.

THE LOWLAND DISTRICT, CREATED 1727.

In the year 1727, Bishop Gordon became "vicar apostolic" of this newly created district, and Bishop Wallace became his co-adjutor.

In the year 1735, Alexander Smith, a missionary of twenty-four years' experience, was consecrated to fill the vacancy created by the death of Bishop Wallace, his briefs for the co-adjutorship with succession, and as *episcopus Mosinopoli in partibus infidelium*, dating from September 19, 1735, the consecrators being Bishops Gordon and Macdonald, and the place Edinboro'. On the death of Bishop Gordon (1746) he succeeded *per coadjutoriam.*

In the year 1755, Bishop Smith, unassisted, carried out the decree of Propaganda (dated 20th January, 1755), and consecrated James Grant, twenty-one years on the mission, bishop of Sinita *in partibus infidelium*, and his co-adjutor; and in 1766, Bishop Smith dying, Grant succeeded *per coadjutoriam.*

In the year 1769, George Hay, "*ex parentibus hæreticis ad ecclesiam Catholicam revocatus ab hæresi Calviniana*," was consecrated at Scalon, near Glenlivet (on the 21st of May, by Bishop Grant, assisted by Bishops Hugh and John Macdonald), bishop of Daulia *in partibus infidelium*, and co-adjutor to the "vicar apostolic," *cum jure*

successionis; and nine years later he succeeded him.

Two years later (1789) John Geddes, *ad præsens Doctor Collegii Scotorum Vallisolitan.*, was made co-adjutor *cum jure successionis*, and consecrated *episcopus Marochien. in partibus infidelium* by the archbishop of Toledo, at Madrid, assisted by the bishops of Urgel and Almeria; but he died before the "vicariate" became vacant.

Shortly after the death of Bishop Geddes (1797), Alexander Cameron, also a Scotchman of the Roman communion, and of the Scotch College, Rome, was consecrated at Madrid, 28th October, 1798, a second co-adjutor to Bishop Hay, and *episcopus Maximianopoli in partibus infidelium;* and in 1805, on the death of Bishop Hay, he succeeded *per coadjutoriam.*

In the year 1816, Bishop Cameron, unassisted, consecrated as his co-adjutor one Alexander Patterson, who had been elected to this position by Propaganda, and whose brief to the see of Cybrista *in partibus infidelium sub archiepiscopo Tyanen.*, was dated May 14, 1816.

In 1826, Bishop Cameron became the

first "vicar apostolic" of the Eastern district.

THE HIGHLAND DISTRICT, CREATED 1727.

(*The Western part of Scotland, and islands adjacent.*)

Alexander John Grant, an alumnus of the Scotch College, Rome, was duly commissioned by the bishop of Rome (1727) to be the first "vicar apostolic" of this new "vicariate," and to be consecrated as bishop of Sura *in partibus infidelium;* but he fell sick and died before his elevation to the episcopate.

In the year 1731, Hugh Macdonald, a secular priest and *nobilis*, was appointed *in locum Presbyteri Alexandri Johannis Grant, electi Episcopii Surensis, eique assignare omnes provincias Montanas ejusdem Regni unacum insulis adjacentibus, etc.*, his briefs to this "vicariate," and to the see of Diana in Numidia *in partibus infidelium*, dating February 12, and was consecrated October 18, in Edinburgh, by Bishop Gordon, assisted by Bishop Wallace *and a priest.*

In the year 1761, John Macdonald,

nephew of the aforesaid Hugh Macdonald, at the age of thirty-three, was consecrated at Preshome for the see of Tiberiopolis *in partibus infidelium*, to serve as coadjutor to his uncle; and, in the year 1773, succeeded *per coadjutoriam*.

In the year 1780 the bishop of Tiberiopolis being deceased, one Alexander Macdonald, of the Scotch College, Rome, on the mission in Scotland, was consecrated, at Scalan, to the see of Polemonium *in partibus infidelium*, and given episcopal oversight of the vacant "vicariate," his consecrators being Bishop Hay *and two priests* (the Rev. Alexander Cameron and the Rev. James Macgillivray).

In 1792 one John Chisholm was consecrated to this "vicariate" (then vacant) and to the see of Oria *in partibus infidelium*, his consecrators being Bishop Hay *and two priests*.

In 1805 Æneas Chisholm, brother to the preceding, was consecrated to the co-adjutorship *cum jure successionis* and to the see of Diocæsaria *in partibus infidelium*, by Bishop Cameron, at Linsmore Seminary.

In the year 1820, Ranald Macdonald,

"an old and most deserving missionary in those parts," succeeded *per obitum Æneæ Chisholm*, Bishop Paterson consecrating him at Edinburgh to the see of Æryndela, *sub archiepiscopo Tarsen., in partibus infidelium.*

In the year 1827 the Propaganda decreed the division of Scotland into three "vicariates"—the Eastern, the Western, and the Northern.

EASTERN DISTRICT, CREATED 1827.

Up to the date of the Vatican Council five titular bishops—Paterson, bishop of Cybrista *in partibus;* Scott, bishop of Erythræ *in partibus;* Carruthers, with a brief to *Ceramen. sub archiepiscopo Stauropolitano in partibus;* Gillis, bishop of Limyra *in partibus sub archiepiscopo Myrensi;* and John Strain, once a pupil at the high school in Edinburgh, a student at the Scots College, Rome, graduate of the College of the Propaganda (1833), of the Scotch Mission (1834), president of S. Mary's College,

Blairs, near Aberdeen, consecrated bishop of Abila *in partibus*, by His Holiness Pius IX., in his private chapel in the Vatican (1864), made assistant at the pontifical throne (1867), and in attendance on every session of the Vatican Council—held and administered this "vicariate."

WESTERN DISTRICT, CREATED 1827.

Six titular bishops held this "vicariate" in turn between the years 1827 and 1870: Ranald Macdonald, bishop of Arindela *in partibus;* Andrew Scott, bishop of Erythræ *in partibus* (*d.* 1846); John Murdoch, bishop of Castabala *in partibus sub archiepisco Anazarbeno*, who had previously (1833) refused the post of co-adjutor with succession to the bishop of Kingston, in Upper Canada, with the title of *Trabacen. in partibus* (*d.* 1863); John Gray, bishop of Hypsopolis *in partibus*, who succeeded (1865) *per coadjutoriam*, and resigned the "vicariate" in 1869.

Dr. Lynch, a priest of the congregation of S. Vincent de Paul, and rector of the Irish College, Paris, who was consecrated

bishop of Arcadiopolis *in partibus* (1866) and made co-adjutor to Bishop Gray, was relieved (1869) of his Scotch co-adjutorship and translated to that of Kildare, Ireland, *cum jure successionis.*

NORTHERN DISTRICT, CREATED 1827.

James Francis Kyle, bishop of Germanicia *in partibus*, consecrated by Bishop Paterson (1828) at Aberdeen, was the first "vicar apostolic" of this district; and he was succeeded (1869) by John Macdonald, of the Scots Seminary in Ratisbon, and, later, of the Scots College, Rome, whose briefs for the see of Nicopolis *in partibus* and co-adjutor to Bishop Kyle, were dated 11 December, 1868, his consecrators being Bishops Chadwick, Gray, and Strain.

Of the Roman titulars intruded into Scotland after the year 1695, two (James Gordon, 1706, and John Wallace, 1720) were "consecrated with all secrecy," and by one bishop only; four others (James Grant, 1755; Æneas Chisholm, 1805; Ran-

ald Macdonald, 1819; and Alexander Paterson, 1816) were also consecrated by one bishop only, though openly; one (Hugh Macdonald, 1731) was consecrated by two bishops and a priest; and two (Alexander Macdonald, 1780; and John Chisholm, 1792) were consecrated by one bishop and two priests.

AUTHORITY FOR THIS CHAPTER:

Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy in England and Scotland, A.D. 1585-1876." W. Maziere Brady, Rome, 1877. "The materials, with the exception of some documents from the private archives of the Vatican and from the *Archivio di Stato* in Rome, have been derived from the archives of the Propaganda and of the English College in Rome, and from other authentic sources."—*Preface.*

XIV

ROMAN TITULARS IN IRELAND

1567–1850

"At the accession of Queen Elizabeth, of all the Irish bishops only two were deprived and two others resigned, on account of their adherence to the see of Rome. The rest continued in their sees, and from them the bishops and clergy of the Irish Church derive their orders. The bishops and clergy of the Roman Church who have intruded into the Irish dioceses derive their orders from Spain and Portugal, and not from the Irish Church."—Perceval: *Apology for the Doctrine of Apostolical Succession.*

"From Curwin, the archbishop of Dublin, recognized by the papacy, and who had been consecrated in England according to the legal forms of the Roman pontifical, in the third year of Queen Mary, Loftus received his episcopal ordination; and, on his translation to the see of Dublin, he conveyed the same episcopal character to Lancaster, his successor."—Bp. Mant: *History of the Church of Ireland.*

"The Irish orders of the protestant Church, recently disestablished, can be traced to Hugh Curwin, archbishop of Dublin, of whose ordination there was never any doubt entertained."

"That Hugh Curwin, archbishop of Dublin, who undoubtedly himself possessed valid Orders, consecrated one or more protestant bishops, rests upon the evidence of Sir James Ware, a most trustworthy and accurate writer, who had access to the official registers."—W. Maziere Brady: *Annals of the Catholic Hierarchy in England and Scotland, Rome*, 1877.

CHAPTER XIV

ROMAN TITULARS IN IRELAND[1]

Patrick Walsh, promoted to the united sees of Waterford and Lismore in 1551, by Edward VI., the mandate for his consecration and restitution of temporalities being directed to Thomas (Lancaster), bishop of Kildare; Dominic (Tirry), bishop of Cork and Cloyne; John, bishop of Ross; Alexander (Devereux), bishop of Ferns; Robert (Travers), bishop of Leighlin; Nicholas (Comin), late bishop of Waterford and Lismore; and John Moore (suffragan?), bishop of Enachduane, was consecrated on the 23d day of October, and sat as bishop of Waterford and Lismore after Mary's accession, and continued bishop until his death in 1578, when a "vicar apostolic" for Waterford and Lismore was appointed by the bishop of

[1] See James Paton: British History and Papal Claims.

Rome. In 1629, a bishop was named in consistory to fill the united sees, then many years vacant *per obitum bonæ memoriæ Walesii*.[1]

In the same year, William (as he is called in the mandate for his consecration), or Edward (as he signed himself) Casey, appointed by Edward VI. to the vacant see of Limerick, likewise in the province of Cashel, was consecrated in Dublin, on the 25th of October, by George Brown, archbishop of Dublin, assisted by Thomas Lancaster, Robert Travers, and Alexander Devereux; but when, shortly after the accession of Mary, this see was declared vacant, Casey's episcopal character being utterly ignored, this same Casey, in or about the year 1556 (according to Brady), did "reconcile" himself to Rome, declaring, in his letter, that he was "nothing canonically consecrated, but, by the scismatical authority of Edward, king of England, scismatically preferred to the bishopric of Limerick;" that "the Roman Church is the head of all churches, and that the bishop of Rome is the Vicar of

[1] W. Maziere Brady's Catholic Hierarchy, p. 25.

Christ in earth, and hath all power of binding and loosing by Christ"; that he did "embrace the Rev. Lord David Wolfe, appointed the apostolical messenger for all Ireland from the most holy Lord the Pope"; and that he craved absolution "from all the ecclesiastical sentences, censures, punishments, heresies, and every other blot," etc.

In the year 1562, on the 30th of October, Roger Skiddy was consecrated (presumably by Archbishop Curwin) to Cork by the Roman ritual, *papali ritu*, no other ordinal being authorized for use in Ireland till the second year of Elizabeth.[1]

A little later, Alexander Craike, a Scotchman, was consecrated to Kildare, by the same Hugh Curwin, whose orders have never been called in question.

On the 2d of March, 1563, Adam Loftus was consecrated to Armagh by the same archbishop of Dublin, other prelates (Skiddy and Craike?) assisting.

In the year 1567, the bishop of Rome schismatically intruded a titular bishop

[1] Bishop Mant: History of the Ch. of Ireland, i., 219.

into Cashel. This is he who wounded with a dagger James McCaghwell, the regular archbishop of that see, because he would not vacate in his favor, and effected his escape into Spain; and who, in the following year, was sent, in company with the titular of Emly, by the rebels in Ireland, as ambassadors to the bishop of Rome and the king of Spain, to secure their aid in wresting the country from Elizabeth. In 1572 he turned up in Dundee, where he was arrested by order of the Regent Mar, when a packet of letters was discovered in his closet, and among them a Latin commission to the pope and king of Spain, beseeching them to emancipate Ireland from the sway of the queen, and promising to restore the old religion both there and in Scotland. But for his escape on the 8th of August, in the early morning, by means of a rope formed out of his bed-clothes, he would have been surrendered to Elizabeth, who had made a demand for his person.[1]

In the year 1578, the Commissioners of Faculties in Ireland, appointed by Eliza-

[1] W. Maziere Brady: Catholic Hierarchy, p. 23.

beth, in 1577, issued a dispensation to Robert Gafney, precentor of Kilkenny, for "confirming the orders taken by him of a Runagate from Rome, pretending himself to be bishop of Killaloe by the Pope's authority." [1]

In the year 1580, Dermod McGrahe was appointed titular bishop of Cork.

At a synod held in the diocese of Clogher (1587) there were present seven titular bishops holding their commissions from Rome, *viz.:*

The bishop of Derry, styled Redmundus Derrenis;

The bishop of Raphoe, styled Donaldus Rapotensis;

The bishop of Down and Connor, styled Cornelius Dernensis et Connorensis;

The bishop of Ardagh, styled Edmundus Ardaghodensis;

The bishop of Kilmore, styled Richardus Kilmorensis;

The bishop of Clogher, styled Cornelius Clogherensis;

[1] Lawson: Scot. Epis. Ch. from the Reformation, p. 116.

The bishop of Achonry, styled Eugenius Aghadensis.

In the year 1600 one Matthew d'Oviedo was made titular archbishop of Dublin.

Before the death of Elizabeth the bishop of Rome, as it is on record in certain state papers, appointed one Peter Lumbard titular primate of Armagh.

Among the state papers of James I. is one from Sir John Davys to the Earl of Salisbury, of date November 12, 1606, in which he particularizes "the pope's titulary bishops" as follows:—

"In Ulster: Dr. Peter Lumbard, bearing the title of primate of Armagh. He is now at the court of Rome, where he has a pension from the pope of two hundred ducats a month.

One O'Boyle hath the title of bishop of Rapo, in Tirconnel; he was born in that country and resideth there.

Connor O'Dovenny hath the name of bishop of Down and Connor. . . . He was brought into our camp in the habit of a Franciscan.

Richard Brady is titular bishop of Kilmore. Very aged.

Jo. Gawne is called bishop of Armagh; his abode is uncertain.

Owen McIvor McMahon, designed bishop of Clogher, is now in Germany.

These are the pope's bishops in Ulster.

"In Leinster: One Matthias, a Spanish friar, hath title of archbishop of Dublin; he now liveth in a monastery in Spain; he hath a pension of three hundred ducats *per diem*.

Franciscus di Rivera is the supposed bishop of Leighton; he is now resident at Antwerp.

Robert Lalor, the priest who is now in the Castle of Dublin, is nominated bishop of Kildare.

"In Mounster: David O'Kerny is made by the pope archbishop of Cashel; he liveth in the liberty of Tipperary.

Thomas White, born in Waterford and nephew to Dr. Lumbard, the pretended primate of Armagh, hath the title of bishop of Waterford. He hath a benefice in the Low Countries, but liveth with his uncle at Rome.

Dr. James White is called bishop of

Limerick, but resideth at Clonnel, in the liberty of Tipperary.

"In Connaught: Florence O'Mulconner hath the name of archbishop of Tuame, but liveth in the court of Spain.

One O'Mulrian, a native of the county of Limerick, is styled bishop of Killaloe; he liveth at Lisbon, and hath a pension of the king of Spain.

There are some other bishoprics in the kingdom for which the pope hath provided bishops, of whom I have no certain intelligence."

In the year 1610, the proclamation of 4 July, 1605, against titular bishops was revived, and the bishop of Down was apprehended.

In the year 1642 Hugh O'Neile, titular primate of Armagh, summoned the bishops and clergy of his province to a synod to be held at Kells; but Thomas Diaz, titular bishop of Meath, would not recognize his authority, and failed to appear.

According to Bishop Mant, there were Roman titulars at Cashel and Tuam also.

In the year 1631, General Malachy

O'Kelly, titular archbishop of Tuam, lost his life in a battle between the Confederates and the Protestants of the north of Ireland; and in his pocket the searchers found a complete and authentic copy of the treaty with Charles I.

By act of Parliament (George III.) all prelates in communion with the Church of Rome were prohibited from entering the kingdom.

Dr. Luke Fagan, titular archbishop of Dublin, who died in 1733, resided there, however, a long term of years.

James O'Gallagher, titular bishop of Raphoe, and later of Kildare, took up his abode in an humble tenement in a village on the Bog of Allen, absenting himself for months at a time, when, staff in hand, he was going the rounds, confirming and ordaining.

Dr. Bryan Macmahon, titular archbishop of Armagh (1738–47), lived in a small farm-house in Meath, where he was known as "Mr. Curtis."

His successor, Michael O'Reilly, could have been found on a farm near Drogheda.

Dr. Thomas De Burgo, who died in 1776, is said to have been the last titular bishop in Ireland who owed his position to *The Pretender*.

Part Second

XV

MARRIED BISHOPS

"It behooveth therefore a Bishop to be. . . . the husband of one wife. . . . having his children subject with all chastity."—*S. Paul*, in Rhemish Version.

CHAPTER XV

MARRIED BISHOPS[1]

Ignatius, the pupil of S. John the Evangelist, says: "Peter and other of the apostles of Christ were married men."

Clement, of Alexandria, in the third book of his *Stromata*, says: "Peter and Philip had children; and Paul does not demur in a certain epistle to mention his own wife, whom he did not take about with him, in order to expedite his ministry the better." In the seventh book of the same work he says: "They relate that the blessed Peter, seeing his own wife led away to execution, cried to her in a consolatory and encouraging voice, addressing her by name: 'Oh, thou, remember the Lord!'"

Ambrose says (in 2 Cor. xi.): "All the apostles had wives, only John and Paul

[1] See Chapter XX. (*Episcopæ*) in THE BISHOPS' BLUE BOOK.

excepted:"—*Omnes apostoli, exceptis Johanne et Paulo, uxores habuerunt.*

Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, in the latter part of the IId century, says in a letter to Victor of Rome: "Seven of my ancestors (*συγγενεῖς*, translated *parentes* by Rufinus) have been bishops, and I am the eighth."

Chæremon, bishop of Nilus (*circ.* 250), it is related by Eusebius (vi., c. xlii.), was sent into banishment with his wife—*ἅμα τῇ συμβίῳ αὐτοῦ.*

Irenæus, bishop of Mitrovitz on the Save, in Pannonia (Hungary), whose head was cut off and body cast into the river on the 25th of March, 304, by order of the governor, was a married man, and, when brought before the tribunal, his wife and children stood with him, the little ones entreating him not to leave them, and their mother conjuring him to submit to the imperial edict.

Phileas, a wealthy nobleman of Thmuis, in Egypt, who had been elected bishop of that city, and was subsequently martyred

in the persecution of Diocletian (*circ.* 304), was told by the governor of Alexandria, in the course of his examination, "Thy poor wife is looking at thee." Whereupon his answer was: "Jesus Christ calls me to glory, and He can also, if He pleases, call my wife."

Urbicius, a senator, chosen bishop of Clermont (*circ.* 312), was a married man, and he had a daughter born to him some time after his elevation to the episcopate.

Theognis, who suffered in the persecution of Licinius, at Cyzicus, being first scourged, and then cast into the sea, was the son of the bishop of that district.

Gruter (*Inscrip. Antiq.*) has transcribed this inscription from one of the stones in the Catacombs:

"My wife Laurentia made me this tomb; she was ever suited to my disposition, venerable and faithful. At length disappointed envy lies crushed: the bishop Leo survived his eightieth year."

The date is A.D. 366; and Leo is thought to have been Liberius, bishop of Rome, sometimes known as Leo.

Gregory the Illuminator, of the royal

Arsacidæ, the apostle of Armenia, ordained patriarch 302, was married to a woman named Mary, by whom he had two sons, Vithanes and Arisdaghes, the latter of whom was, in due time, consecrated patriarch of all Armenia by his father and a synod of bishops.

Severus, a bishop of Ravenna, a spinner by trade, who died 390, was a married man, and his wife's name was Vincentia.

Flavius Dexter, a close friend of Jerome, was the son of Pacian, bishop of Alexandria, and the author of a "Book on Baptism," a "Call to Penitence," "Epistles against the Novatians," etc.; and he died (*circ.* 385) in the reign of Theodosius.

De Rossi cites, under date 404, the following inscription from the Catacombs, of a bishop's son: "VICTOR IN PACE FILIVS EPISCOPI VICTORIS CIVITATIS VERENSIVM."—"Victor, in peace, son of Bishop Victor of the city of the Ucrenses."

In the year 414 Innocent I. (bishop of Rome) complained that many bishops were married to widows.

Paulinus (*d.* 431), patrician, orator, poet, prefect of Rome, priest, hermit, bishop of Nolan, was a married man, and the wife's name was Tharasia.

Principius, bishop of Soissons, to whom Sidonius Apollinaris wrote as "Papa Principius," was a married man, and had a son named Lupus.

Rusticus, bishop of Narbonne (*circ.* 427), was the son of Bonosus, a bishop, and his Benjamin, the child of his old age (cf. Jerome's letter to Rusticus, 411), and of him it is recorded that he wished to resign his diocese on account of the troublous times. His epitaph has been found at Narbonne (date 445), and is as follows: RVSTICVS · EPIS · EPI · BONOSI · FILIVS . . . "Bishop Rusticus, son of Bishop Bonosus."

Isichius, archbishop of Vienne (*d.* 494), had a wife, Audentia, a daughter named Fascina, and two sons, one of whom (Avitus) succeeded his father as metropolitan, while the other (Apollinaris) became (499) bishop of Valence.

Sylverius, bishop of Rome (536–538), was the son of Bishop Hormisda.

Gregory, bishop of Tours (573–594), who was the great-grandson of Bishop Gregory, of Langres, has somewhat to say of a certain bishop's wife who was wont to mutilate men and to torture women, by applying red-hot irons to the most sensitive parts of their bodies; and, in another place (IV. 36), he writes of another bishop's wife, notorious for her despotic cruelty.

Chlodulf (*Cloud* in France), who was elevated late in life to fill the vacant see of Metz, and while a layman, was the son of Arnoald (*d.* 640), bishop of Metz.

Adrian II., bishop of Rome (867–872), was the son of a bishop named Taralus, and had a wife (Stefania) and a daughter when elevated to the episcopate.

Agelmar, bishop of Elmham, just before the Conquest, was a married prelate.

Ailvic, bishop of Chichester (*circ.* 1060), but not, as Agelmar, brother to the archbishop, married, and was deposed therefor.

Of Archbishop Heirbert (1019–1045), a Milan chron. MS. flos florum, contains

this record: "HIC ARCHIEPISC. HABUIT UXERIAM, NOBILEM MULIEREM, UXOREM: QUÆ DONAVIT DOTEM SUAM MONASTERIO S. DIONYSII, QUÆ USQUE HODIE UXERIA DICITUR."

In this century bishops' wives contended for precedence, on state occasions, with the wives of counts and barons.

John, bishop of Holan, in North Iceland, who died 1121, was twice married after taking orders.

Richard, archdeacon of Coventry, who was consecrated bishop of Coventry and Lichfield by Archbishop Theobald, of Canterbury, was son to Robert, bishop of Chester.

Innocent III., bishop of Rome (1198–1216), accused the archbishop of Prague *quod uxorem evidenter haberet, de qua filios generavit.*

Alexander VI., of infamous memory, bishop of Rome (1492), was a married cardinal-bishop when elevated to the papal chair, his wife being Julia Farnese, and his children, Louis, Cæsar, John, Godfrey, and Lucretia Borgia.

Guillaume Briçonnet, who was made bishop of Lodève in 1504, and of Meaux in 1516, was the son of Cardinal Briçonnet, archbishop of Narbonne.

Cardinal Beaton, lord privy seal, bishop of St. Andrews, chancellor of Scotland, patriot and soldier (murdered 1546), left a family of several sons and one daughter, having contracted a marriage with Marion Ogilvie before receiving deacon's orders, and continuing to live with her until they were separated by death.

George v. Polenz, the first prelate of the Latin Church to espouse the cause of Luther (in whose cathedral at Königsberg, Brissmann, a former Franciscan, preached (September 24, 1523) one of the earliest sermons in behalf of the Reformation); the bishop who (January 15, 1524) issued the order that thenceforth the native language must be used in all sermons and baptisms throughout Prussia, recommending at the same time Luther's Bible and other writings; against whom Clement IV. issued (December 1, 1524) a mandate; to whom Luther (1525) dedicated his commentary on Deuteronomy; and who short-

ly after retired from the administration of his diocese on account of ill-health ;—married late in life, residing at the palace of Balga thereafter.

Gebhard II., archbishop and elector of Cologne, having fallen desperately in love with Duchess Agnes, a woman of rare beauty, joined the Evangelical body (1582) and married her, for which he was deprived of his archiepiscopal dignity and excommunicated by the pope (1583), but shortly after appealed to arms to defend his rights against the new archbishop, Duke Ernst, of Bavaria.

The bishop of Moray, whose seat was at Scone, was a married man, for it is related that when the Abbey there was destroyed by fire (1559) through the influence of Knox, a raider from Dundee, who attempted to force the door, was wounded sore by the son of the diocesan.

Gregory XIV.,[1] bishop of Rome (De-

[1] According to Pope Damasus, who died in 1048, Felix III., Gelasius I., Boniface, Agapetus, John X., and John XV., all bishops of Rome, were the sons of priests. All the world knows that Sylverius, Theodorus, Adrian II., and Gregory XIV., likewise bishops of Rome, were the

cember 5, 1590, to October 15, 1591) was the son of the bishop of Cremona.

children of the successors of the apostles; and some of the most illustrious bishops of all ages have been sons of bishops.

XVI

LAY BISHOPS

CHAPTER XVI

LAY BISHOPS

Gregory, a descendant of the royal Merovingian house, the favorite pupil of Boniface, "the Apostle of Germany," whom he met familiarly in the monastery of Pfalzel, near Treves, succeeded Willibrord, the Anglo-Saxon missionary, in the administration of the see of Utrecht (740–775); but he was never consecrated. Although it cannot be positively affirmed that he elevated Lebuin to the episcopate before sending him, with Marcellin, into Friesland (one historian explaining that he had caused Alubert, an English priest, to be ordained to perform episcopal functions in his name), it is certain that the layman was the ordinary of the diocese.

Henry II. (*d.* 1189) gave the see of Lincoln to his natural son, a mere lad, who held the see for eight years, though he was not even a priest.

According to Bernard of Clairvaux, in his "Life of Malachy," eight married men and without ordination, though men of learning, preceded Celsus (who died 1129) in the see of Armagh; and under these "lay archbishops" the sacrament of confirmation had been altogether omitted, and every diocese had its own "use," to the utter confounding of a stranger, as appears in the complaint of Gilbert of Limerick, who averred that "a man accustomed to the offices of the Church in one diocese, on going into another, found himself like an idiot in the church, not understanding what was being said or done."

At the close of this century, the Waldenses, proscribed by the Roman Church at the council at Verona (1183), instituted an independent ecclesiastical hierarchy, with "bishops" ordained by Peter Waldo, a citizen of Lyons; and from these old Waldensian "bishops," without the succession and without consecration, are descended the "bishops" of the Bohemian Brethren, and the Herrnhuters.[1]

According to William of Newbury and

[1] See chapter on *Schismatic Prelates.*

other ancient authors, Wimund (Malcolm Macheth) was bishop of Man some time in this century, and yet "it is almost certain that he was never consecrated." He was married to a daughter of Somerled of Argyll, and his son rose in rebellion against Malcolm IV. Ailred, of Rievaux (*Vitæ Antiquæ*, p. 447), calls him "*pseudo-episcopum.*" He claimed to be a son of Angus, earl of Murray, who had fallen (1130) in an uprising against King David. A transcriber of old writings in religious houses, and, later, a Cistercian monk at Furness, he may have been sent to Man, at the time of the foundation of Rushin Abbey by King Olave, and the islanders may have demanded him as their bishop. But he turned out a bandit, and pillaged the coasts of Scotland. On one of his expeditions he was taken prisoner and blinded.[1]

The notorious Pandulf, the papal legate, appointed bishop of Norwich (1218), would not consent to consecration until he had been seven years in the enjoyment of the revenues of the see.

[1] Grub's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, i., 271.

Florence, the son of Count Florence, of Holland, elected to the archbishopric of Glasgow, played the metropolitan there for five years, without consecration, and then (1207) resigned.[1]

The Taborites, one of the parties in the Hussite camp, organized themselves (1457) as the UNITAS FRATRUM, assuming the name of Bohemian or Moravian brethren. Ten years later, concealed in forests and worshipping in caves (hence called *Picards*), they chose, by lot, three of their number to serve as pastors. Michael v. Bradacz, a minister in the vicinity, went to the Waldensian bishop (one of the succession instituted by Peter Waldo, the layman) for ordination, and, on his return, ordained the three brethren chosen at Lhota,—two of them as priests, the other (Mathias of Kunwald) *as bishop!*

In 1482, William Elphinstone, of noble birth, a learned advocate before the Church courts, priest, pastor of Kirkmichael, rector of the university of Glasgow, official of

[1] Cosmo Innes's Scotland in the Middle Ages, 39.

Lothian, royal ambassador, nominated to the see of Ross by James III., was styled elect and confirmed of that diocese, in March, but seems not to have been consecrated until after his translation (November, 1483) to Aberdeen.[1]

William Sheves, of S. Andrews, archbishop, dying 1497, James, duke of Ross, brother of James IV., was raised to the metropolitan see, though only twenty-one years of age; but "there is no record of his consecration, nor is the fact alluded to by the historians of the time," and, as Grub goes on to say (i. 395), it is perhaps a presumption against his consecration, that we find him dating a charter by the year, not of his consecration, but of his metropolitan government. He was regularly called "archbishop," however, and played the archbishop to the day of his death in 1503.

In 1509, this same primatial see of Scotland was bestowed, by king and pope conjointly, on Alexander Stuart, an ille-

[1] Grub: Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, i., pp. 391, 405.

gitimate son of the monarch, a boy of sixteen, for whom the father in vain, as it would seem, petitioned his master at Rome to appoint a Dominican friar, duly consecrated, as suffragan. Four years later the youthful prelate lay dead at Flodden.[1]

In the year 1542 Robert Stewart, the second son of John, third earl of Lennox, was designated bishop of Caithness, and was, later, invested with the temporalities of that see, though he was never in holy orders. By royal charter, dated June, 1578, he became sixth earl of Lennox, but retained his title of "bishop of Caithness" to the day of his death (1586). In the commission signed at Leith (1571) he is styled the *Right Reverend Father in God, Robert, bishop of Caithness*, and the next year he "assisted" in the "consecration" of John Douglas, the first Tulchan bishop, the other "consecrators" being the superintendent of Lothian and David Lindsay—all of them laymen.

In the year 1558, James Hamilton, a natural son of the earl of Arran, regent of the kingdom, was appointed to the see

[1] Grub, i., 396.

of Argyll, but there is no evidence of his consecration, although his name appears as *James, bishop of Argyll*, in the list of the reformers present in the Parliament of 1560; and in 1567 his signature was affixed to the bond to release Queen Mary from prison.

In the year 1566, John Carsewell, the superintendent of Argyll, was appointed to the bishopric of the Isles, and, although he was never consecrated, sat in the Parliament which met at Edinburgh on April 16, 1567, with the prelates of the Latin church—the archbishop of S. Andrews, and the bishops of Dunkeld, Galloway, Dunblane, Brechin, Orkney, Aberdeen, and Ross.

In the same year (1566) Alexander Campbell, of the Ardkinglas family, was nominated to the see of Brechin, and, though never consecrated, figured extensively in the history of those times as the "bishop of Brechin," and retained his seat in Parliament till his death in 1606, albeit he was only a "preacher" at Brechin.

About this same time John Campbell, commendator of Iona and Ardchattan, was

"bishop" of the Isles, as successor to Alexander Gordon, "archbishop of Athens," one of the pope's prelates, and sat in Parliament, though he was never either confirmed or consecrated.

On the death of John Hamilton, the last archbishop of S. Andrews of the ancient line, who was hanged on April 6, 1571, for alleged complicity in the murder of Darnley, one Robert Hay, a member of the Roman communion, was elected to the see; but he was never consecrated, though it is said by contemporary writers that from time to time "he performed various acts of jurisdiction, not only in his own province, but in that of Glasgow."

The year of the archbishop's execution also ushered in the era of the Tulchan bishops[1]—"bishops" without the succession, and without consecration; and, for forty years save one, the church of Scotland was under the tutelage of a phantom episcopacy, and subject to the discipline of a kirk hostile to the apostolical constitution of the Church.

[1] See chapter on *Tulchan Bishops*.

In the year 1800, Philip William Otterbein, a learned and devout missionary of the German Reformed Church in America, organized the *United Brethren in Christ* and was chosen its first "bishop."

In 1816, at the anniversary of the peace and his coronation, Frederick William III., of Prussia, appointed two preachers "bishops" of the Evangelical Church, in return for services rendered, and conferred upon them the rank of royal chief presidents (previously enjoyed by bishops of the Latin Church), with other episcopal honors, and especially corresponding official robes. Since then, the title bishop has often been given to general superintendents.

The new (1853) ecclesiastical polity of Oldenburg, a Lutheran country, invests the ruler with the chief episcopacy.

In 1857, the royal high-episcopate of Bavaria declared the union of the two national synods at an end, and they met that year as two bodies—one in October at Anspach, the other in November at Baireuth.

In 1863, Frederick VII., of Denmark, conferred the honorary title of "bishop" on Nicolai Frederick Severin Grundtvig, teacher, pastor, hymn-writer, and the Scandinavian poet of Whitsuntide.

According to Rüetschi, the chief magistrate of Iceland is reckoned the *summus episcopus*, and he exercises his authority partly through bishops, partly through civil officers.

The Rev. Professor Jacobs, in Vol. IV. of "The American Church History Series," says of the early Swedish Church: "The king was their chief bishop, who acted either through the archbishop of Upsala or the bishop of Skara, Svedberg, in the case of these churches." And today the king is its chief bishop, expressly styled in their Church law *Summus Episcopus*.

Jacobson records the fact that the title archbishop was

conferred by a cabinet decree of April 19, 1829, upon Borowski, a Lutheran bishop in Prussia.

Referring, presumably, to Charles Morgan, son of a strolling piper of the county of Londonderry, a Romanist, a Protestant, twice married, and finally surnamed after his second spouse, rector in the diocese of Ross, 1789; dean of Ardagh, 1790; dean of Clonmacnois, 1800; bishop of Limerick, 1806; bishop of Cloyne, 1820—Archbishop Whateley once said that, even in the memory of persons living, there flourished a bishop concerning whom doubts existed in the minds of some persons whether he had ever been ordained at all. The curious reader will find a full account of this strange man in the *North British Review*, December, 1866.

XVII

PRESBYTERAL BISHOPS

"It is evident unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient Authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these Orders of Ministers in Christ's Church—Bishops, Priests, and Deacons."—*Preface to the Ordinal.*

"Persons can only transmit that which they themselves possess."

"Valid orders can only be transmitted by bishops possessed of valid orders."—*W. Maziere Brady.*

CHAPTER XVII

PRESBYTERAL BISHOPS

Mani, a descendant of the Persian Magi, the founder of Manichæism—an attempt at a universal religion by the combination of Christianity with Parseeism—was only a presbyter at the time of his death (277), and yet, as head of his Church, he had the making and control of seventy-two "bishops" (as Augustine calls them), besides presbyters, deacons, and evangelists. At the close of the IIId century his "bishops" had established a flourishing settlement on the coast of Malabar (whence, as some suggest, the old Thomas-Christians of India), and two hundred years later had made their way into Egypt and Rome, and subsequently were found in Spain, Southern France, and the Eastern Empire.

Rokycana, a Bohemian priest, the chief controversialist on the Hussite side in the

conferences at Basle, the representative of those who were in favor of reunion with Rome on the basis of *The Four Articles*, was secretly elected (1435) archbishop of Prag, with two suffragans, before the *Compacts* were signed, and posed as the head of the National Church of Bohemia until his death in 1471; but in the xvith century the Callixtines, as they were called (from calix = cup, because they insisted on the Eucharist in both kinds), had wholly disappeared.

In the year 1542, on the twentieth day of January, in the presence of the elector and a vast crowd of people, Nicolas von Amsdorf (originally canon of All Saints' monastery connected with the university of Wittenberg, later a warm friend of the German Reformation, and then minister of S. Ulrich, a controversialist, and "a theologian by nature") was "consecrated," by Martin Luther (priest), successor to the bishop of Naumburg-Zeitz, and, as Luther coarsely put it, "without chrism, and also without butter, lard, fat, grease, incense, or coals"; but the battle of Mühlberg (1547)

forced him out of the see. The chapter, however, eventually became Lutheran.

Three years later the same Martin Luther "consecrated" George III., prince of Anhalt (originally canon at Merseburg, then student of civil and canonical law at Leipsic, then priest, and (1526) provost at the cathedral at Magdeburg), "bishop" of Merseburg, Melanchthon and other ministers "assisting." The prince had desired episcopal ordination from a bishop of the old line, and had selected Matthias von Jagow, bishop of Brandenburg, a convert (1539) to the Reformation, as his consecrator. But when death intervened and took the bishop off, he consented to receive his apostolical commission from the famous priest whom he called "a true bishop, who truly fed the church of God"; and as "bishop" of Merseburg he convoked synods twice each year in the cathedral. The battle of Mühlberg was fatal to his authority, as to that of Amsdorf, and Michael Helding, the papal prelate, took possession of the see. Of him, too, it could have been said that he was "unmarried, talented, learned, and noble." He died 1553.

In Denmark, Christian III., having subdued the revolted country, convened (1536) the diet of Copenhagen, which formally deposed all the bishops of the Roman communion holding sees therein, and summoned John Bugenhagen *Grammaticus* (originally rector of the school at Treptow on the Rega, converted to the Reformation by a perusal of Luther's "Babylonian Captivity," and then pastor at Wittenberg) to reorganize the Church, who, without having received the apostolical commission himself, laid hands on seven men whom he ordained "superintendents," but for which the title "bishops" was subsequently substituted. According to one of the Schaffs, although the bishops of the Church of Denmark have no claim whatever to apostolic succession, the English bishops of India have recognized Danish ordination.

In Sweden, Gustavus Vasa having applied in vain to Adrian VI., bishop of Rome, to initiate measures of reform in his communion, the Bible having been translated into the vernacular, and the clergy, at the assembly at Oerebro (1529), having sanctioned all the reforms which had been in-

troduced by the government on the advice of Luther, Lawrence Petersen, a professor at Upsala, was appointed (1531), by the king, archbishop of Upsala and primate of Sweden, but there is no evidence that he was ever consecrated. He went to Rome, it would seem, to consult with the bishop there upon the matter, and, subsequently, he laid his hands on many by way of ordination; but the records of that period have been burnt, and the validity of his own orders is yet to be determined. Nor is it clear that his successor, also a Lawrence Petersen (Laurentius Petri Gothus), was duly elevated to the episcopate. True, he was "consecrated" (1575) by Paul Justin, bishop of Abo. But who consecrated Justin? This question is still unanswered; and until it is decided the Church must hesitate to own the apostolical commission of Abraham Andreæ, the son-in-law and successor (1593) of Laurentius Petri, who died in the castle of Gripsholm, a prisoner under suspicion. The Rev. D. S. Schaff says that "the confessions of the Swedish Church recognize the equality of the ministry."

In Iceland, Gizur Einarssen, a Lutheran,

became (1540) bishop of Skalaholt; but what bishop of the old line conferred the episcopal office on him?[1]

On April 26, 1568, John Jewell, bishop of Salisbury, wrote a letter (numbered xlv. in Dr. Jelf's edition of the collected works of that learned apologist) to Archbishop Parker in these words: "Whereas I wrote of late unto your grace touching this bearer M. Lancaster, now elect of Armagh, that it might please your grace to stay him from further ordering of ministers, it may now like the same to understand that I have since communed with the said M. Lancaster concerning the same, and find by his own confession that he hath already ordered divers, although not so many as it was reported; howbeit among the same he both admitted and ordered one, whom by the space of these eight years I, for many good and just causes, me moving evermore have refused." Who was this Lancaster? Bishop-elect of Armagh. Only bishop-elect? Yes; for he was not consecrated,

[1] The Lutheran Church has for the most part abandoned episcopacy. In Germany one order of the ministry only is recognized.—*Schaff-Herzog Encyclopædia.*

according to Sir James Ware and the Loftus MSS., until June 13th following, when he was elevated to the episcopal order by Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin, Hugh Brady, bishop of Meath, and Robert Daly, bishop of Kildare. Then he was only a presbyter when the bishop of Salisbury wrote to the primate *to stay him from further ordering of ministers?* That was all. And yet he presumed to confer holy orders? Yes; and it does not appear that either of the bishops contemplated the rejection of these orders as null and void.

But there is more. Sir James Ware, a most careful authority, further attests that this same Thomas Lancaster, then treasurer of Salisbury, was consecrated in July, 1550, to the see of Kildare, in Ireland, by George Brown, archbishop of Dublin. A case of mistaken identity? No; for there is extant a letter of Queen Elizabeth, dated March 28, 1568, in which Thomas Lancaster, promoted by her to the see of Armagh, is described as one who had been and was bishop of Kildare, and, in the words of Cecil's postscript, "therein for the time proved very laudably." Then this

Lancaster was twice consecrated—once, in 1550, to Kildare; and again, in 1568, to Armagh? Either that; or he exercised the functions of a bishop for eighteen years without episcopal ordination or consecration, and gave authority to scores of men to execute the office of a deacon or a priest in the Church of God without having received the apostolical commission himself. Strange, too, was it that, in spite of these irregularities, Thomas Lancaster was allowed to be consecrated archbishop of Armagh.

Ernest of Bavaria was never consecrated, and yet, when he died (1612) he was archbishop of Cologne and bishop of four other sees. The same may be said of John of Bavaria. And as late as 1640 the bishopric of Mentz was held by a layman, Henri de Bourbon, bastard son of Henri IV., to whom it was assigned by the great Richelieu himself.

In 1671, when John Amos Comenius died, the last "bishop" of the original *Bohemian Brethren* was gathered to his fathers. The *Renewed Moravian Church*,

which dates from the year 1727, claims to have received the succession through the Waldensian "bishop," Stephens (1467). In 1749 the British parliament recognized the validity of Moravian ordination.[1]

In the year 1784, John Wesley,[2] presbyter, assisted by Mr. Creighton, a preacher of the Methodist connection, ordained Thomas Coke, D.C.L. (a gentleman commoner of Jesus College, Oxford, and, later, curate of South Petherton, Somersetshire), superintendent of the Methodists in Amer-

[1] "Moravian bishops are only titular ones; they have no diocese, no church government, nor ban."—*Professor Kurtz (University of Dorpat).*

[2] That Wesley applied to the bishop of London to *ordain* "only one" of his preachers is history. Failing in this, he seems to have petitioned, orally or by letter, Bishop Kilgour, Primus of the Scottish Church, to *consecrate* the Rev. Dr. Coke, of the Church of England, and inject him into the succession. Again refused, he took the matter into his own hands, and, in his *manifesto* to Dr. Coke, etc., took the opportunity to say: "Lord King's account of the Primitive Church convinced me many years ago that bishops and presbyters are the same order, and consequently have the same right to ordain." Yet he could also say: "I think the Church of England the best constituted church in the world." And everybody knows of the horror of great darkness that fell upon him when tidings reached him from America that Coke *et al.* were posing and masquerading as BISHOPS.

ica, and gave him letters of ordination, under his hand and seal, in these words :

"To all to whom these presents shall come, John Wesley, late Fellow of Lincoln College in Oxford, Presbyter of the Church of England, sendeth greeting.

"Whereas, Many of the people in the Southern Provinces of North America, who desire to continue under my care, and still adhere to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England, are greatly distressed for want of ministers to administer the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's supper, according to the usage of the same Church ; and whereas, there does not appear to be any other way of supplying them with ministers,—

"Know all men, that I, *John Wesley*, think myself to be providentially called at this time to set apart some persons for the work of the ministry in America. And, therefore, under the protection of Almighty God, and with a single eye to his glory, I have this day set apart as a superintendent, by the imposition of my hands, and prayer (being assisted by other ordained ministers), Thomas Coke, Doctor of Civil

Law, a Presbyter of the Church of England, and a man whom I judge to be well qualified for that great work. And I do hereby recommend him to all whom it may concern, as a fit person to preside over the flock of Christ. In testimony whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal, this second day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four.

"JOHN WESLEY."

This was construed by Dr. Coke, in his ambition, as an ordination to a bishopric, and, on arriving in America, he proceeded to make a bishop out of Francis Asbury. But, after all, the "bishops" of the Methodist Church are not a distinct order of the clergy. They are only presbyters, and "amenable to the body of ministers and preachers, who may divest them of their office." [1]

[1] See chapter on *Ordinations?*

XVIII

SCHISMATICAL BISHOPS

"Schism is a wilful breach of the outward unity of the Church."—*John Henry Blunt.*

CHAPTER XVIII

SCHISMATICAL BISHOPS

Resident about the cities of Wâsit and Basra, and in Chûzistân (the ancient Susiana), on the eastern shore of the Tigris, are the *Mandœans*, who pretend to be descendants of the disciples of S. John the Baptist, whose hierarchy comprises the three orders of deacons, presbyters, and bishops, to whose ministry virgins are admitted, and whose churches are only for the use of the clergy; the laymen remaining in the vestibule. These *Christians of S. John*, though apparently dating back to primitive Christian antiquity, were not brought to the notice of the European world until the XVIIth century, when the Carmelite missionary, Ignatius a Jesu, communicated information concerning them to the Latin Church, and, since his day, further knowledge of them has been

gained from Abraham Ecchellensis, Pietro della Valle, and others. When first discovered, they numbered about twenty thousand families, and were located on the Euphrates and Tigris, south of Bagdad. They are mostly handicraftsmen. The bishops wear a golden seal-ring, bearing the inscription, *sŭm jâvâr zîvâ*—the name of *Yâvâr Zîvâ*, the victorious *Hibil Zîvâ;* and the patriarch or pope, the *Rish ammâ*, is both the civil and ecclesiastical authority.

In the IId century Marcionite bishops were not uncommon, Marcion, their leader, having proposed in vain to reform the whole church by eliminating from her doctrines all Judaistic elements. The ethics of the system, which banned the theatre and circus, ornaments, meat, wine, and marriage, gained it numerous adherents in Rome, Italy, Egypt, Pontus, Arabia, Syria, Cyprus, and the Thebaid. Marcion's gospel, it has been decided by critics, is not a rescript of the original gospel, but a version marred by arbitrary changes introduced for dogmatical reasons.

Victor I., bishop of Rome (185–197), excommunicated Theodotus, the tanner, the famous leader of the *Monarchians* (who held "the divinity of Christ was only a power communicated to him"); but the leather-dealer found a certain Natalius, an Italian, and a confessor, who, for a monthly salary of a hundred and seventy *dinarii*, was induced to become the bishop of the new church; but "he was afterward, by visions of 'holy angels,' who whipped him while he was sleeping, forced back into the bosom of the great Church."[1]

In the year 218, Callistus, a liberated slave, was raised to be episcopal supervisor of Rome, but, as he seemed to hold the heresy of Noëtus (the leader of the modalistic Monarchians)—that the person of the Father had assumed the human nature of

[1] Dynamic Monarchism was not so extinguished, however, for in the following century, Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, was excommunicated by an Oriental council (268) for advocacy of its views. In Rome and Carthage it was modalistic Monarchism (that Christ was God Himself incarnate, the Father who had assumed flesh, a mere *modus* of the Godhead) that threatened the doctrine of the Church, and led about the same time to the excommunication of Hippolytus and Sabellius.

Christ, and was also under suspicion as favoring a mild ecclesiastical discipline, an opposition was organized, headed by the distinguished ecclesiastical writer, Hippolytus, "a presbyter conspicuous for learning, eloquence, zeal, and moral earnestness," whom his adherents elected counter-bishop; but the breach was closed (235) when both parties united to choose another bishop.

Novatian, a presbyter of the Church at Rome, eloquent, learned, but austere and uncompromising in his attitude toward the lapsed, having vainly combated the election of Cornelius, the candidate of the moderate party, to the apostolic see, separated himself (251) from his jurisdiction, erected a new society, of which he became the first bishop, and gave the name to a sect (*Novatians*), which, perpetuating itself for three centuries and taking root in almost every community in the Roman Empire, demanded the permanent exclusion from the Church of all defiled by gross sins after baptism, and insisted on the re-baptism of all who would enter into its membership.

About the same time the heady Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, having excommunicated a number of presbyters and confessors, under the lead of the deacon Felicissimus, for disregard of his episcopal utterances on the subject of the re-admission of the lapsed, etc., a schism was initiated in that city, and one Fortunatus elected counter-bishop, although the good sense of all concerned speedily arrested the growth of the new sect.

Paul, bishop of Samosata, and afterward patriarch of Antioch, excommunicated by the Oriental council of Antioch (268) for his Monarchian views—that the Son is an impersonal power, and can never become a concrete manifestation, became the nucleus of the *Paulianists*, but seems to have been unable to muster more than two hundred and sixty adherents.

Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis, in Thebais, having offered incense to idols, or having arrogated to himself the power of ordaining within the jurisdiction of his metropolitan (Peter, bishop of Alexandria), was excommunicated and deposed

by an Egyptian synod (306), and thereupon became the chief pastor of the *Meletians*, who spread over Egypt; and, although the council of Nicæa (325) offered amnesty to all the bishops of this sect, and the succession to their respective sees in the event of the death of the regular bishop, Meletius and many other of his schismatic colleagues persisted in perpetuating the division, until, finally, they affiliated with the party of the Arians.

Cæcilianus, the archdeacon, having been chosen (311) to succeed Mensurius as bishop of Carthage, the fanatical party in that city elected Majorinus, a lector, counter-bishop, to represent their views of the honor of martyrdom; and, this office devolving (313) on *Donatus the Great*, the schism gradually spread over North Africa, until, at the time of their forced disputation with Augustine, of Hippo, in Carthage (411), no fewer than two hundred and seventy-nine Donatist bishops confronted the two hundred and eighty-six bishops of the Catholic Church there assembled; and, although defeated, persecuted, proscribed, banished, and deprived

of all civil privileges, the sect survived until exterminated by the swords of the Saracens in the VIIth century. About the close of the IIId century the *Donatists* underwent subdivision, one offshoot taking the name of *Rogatians*, after Rogatus, bishop of Cartenna (370). In the year 400 there were three rival bishops in Carthage.

The heresy of *Arianism*, formally condemned by the ecumenical council of Nice (325), generated a schism in the Church that gave rise to bloody conflicts and reprisals, and led to the defection of Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia; Eusebius, the historian, bishop of Cæsarea; Theodotius, bishop of Laodicea; Paulinus, bishop of Tyre; Athanasius, bishop of Anazarbus; Gregory, bishop of Berea; Aetius, bishop of Lydda (Diospolis); Theonas, bishop of Marmarica; Secundus, bishop of Ptolemais, in Egypt; Theognis, bishop of Nice; Patrophilius, bishop of Scythopolitamius; Theodore, bishop of Perinthus (Heraclea); Basil, bishop of Ancyra; Gregory, bishop of Alexandria; Stephen, bishop of Antioch; Narcissus, bishop of Neroniades in Cilicia; George, bishop of Lao-

dicea; Acacius, bishop of Cæsarea in Palestine; Menophantis, bishop of Ephesus in Asia; Ursacius, bishop of Singidunum in Mœsia; Valens, bishop of Mursa in Pannonia, etc., until "all the churches of the East, with the exception of that of Jerusalem," as Sozomen relates, "were in the hands of the Arians." And that was within fifty years of the session of the Nicene Council! When the empire fell, Arianism took deep hold on the Burgundians, Goths, and Vandals, the conquerors of the old order, the founders of the new. But the Church finally displaced Arianism (747) in Lombardy, its last stronghold, and so, at length, the schism, which had divided Christians ever since the Council of Sardica in Illyricum (347), came to an end.

But sects are born of sectarianism. And soon the Arians of the IVth century began to dispute among themselves. The *Eusebians* (so Athanasius—*οἱ περὶ Εὐσέβιον*) divided into the *Aetians*, followers of Aetius, a deacon of Antioch, subsequently a bishop-at-large; the *Acacians*, followers of Acacius, bishop of Cæsarea

(Eusebius's successor); the *Eunomians*, followers of Eunomius, bishop of Cyzicus (all of them strict Arians, genuine disciples of Eusebius, bishop of Nicomedia, later bishop of Constantinople, then (357–361) some fifteen years dead); and into the *Ὁμοιουσιάστι*, *Ἡμιάρειοι*, *Semiariani* (disciples of Eusebius, sometime bishop of Cæsarea), led by Basil, bishop of Ancyra, and Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste; and so great was the contention among them that sects were continually multiplied, and there was a bishop for almost every doctrinal distinction. Two famous instances may be cited.

Photinus, bishop of Sirmium, attempting to explain (343) the relationships existing in the Godhead, repeated the Sabellianism of his instructor, Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra, who had been deposed therefor by the Synod of Constantinople (336), and, enunciating that the Son and the Holy Ghost are two distinct emanations from the Divine Nature, was condemned by the Orthodox at a council of Milan (347), by the *Eusebians* at the second council of Antioch (345), and finally deposed by them (351)

at the first council of Sirmium. A party gathered around him, however, and the *Photinians* continued till the reign of Theodosius the younger.

Macedonius, the Semi-Arian bishop of Constantinople, deposed at the instigation of the *Eunomians* (360) and sent into exile, by the Arian council of Constantinople, taught that the Holy Ghost was "a divine energy diffused throughout the universe, and not a person distinct from the Father and the Son"; and only the action of the second ecumenical council (381) strangled the sect of the *Macedonians* before it had attained its maturity.

Within the bosom of the Church unwise zeal against Arianism led to the further scission of the Body of Christ.

Meletius of Sebaste, an *Eusebian*, as all thought, being elected by the Arians (360) bishop of Antioch, but immediately deposed for his adhesion to the Nicene Confession, was next chosen bishop of the homoousian congregation of that city; but Paulinus, a presbyter, being consecrated counter-bishop by Lucifer, bishop of Calaris, on the ground that the old Nicenes

were afraid of even a converted Arian, a schism was initiated (the Westerns and Egyptians acknowledging Paulinus, the Oriental Nicenes rallying around Meletius, as the orthodox bishop of Antioch), which was not healed till 413, when Alexander, the Meletian bishop, voluntarily resigned for the sake of harmony.

On his return to Alexandria, Lucifer, dissatisfied with the action of the council of Alexandria, assembled by Athanasius (362), which had commissioned him to restore peace to the Church at Antioch, separated and founded the sect of the *Luciferites*, entertaining rigid views as to ecclesiastical discipline, and lasting on into the vth century.

Apollinaris the younger, bishop of Laodicea, a man of much learning and piety, allowed his attachment to Platonism to carry him away into a partial denial of the humanity of Christ, maintaining that the Logos in Christ supplied the place of the rational soul *νοῦς* or *ψυχὴ λογική;* but, his views finding no favor in the Church, he shortly withdrew himself from her communion (371), and gathered round him a

party of adherents, who went by the names of *Apollinaristæ*, *Συνουσιασταί*, *Διμοιριται*.

Priscillian, bishop of Abila, in Spain, a man distinguished by birth, fortune, and eloquence, becoming infected with Gnosticism (the Manichæism of Africa), founded the sect of the *Priscillianists*, to which many Spanish bishops became converts, and a council at Saragossa (380) having excommunicated the sect, Ithacius, bishop of Sossuba, "a man abandoned to the most corrupt indolence, and without the least tincture of piety, audacious, talkative, and a slave to his belly," prevailed on Maximus, the usurper, to apply the torture, and to put Priscillian and his adherents to death.[1] The *Priscillianists* were not so annihilated, however. Remnants continued to exist till the VIth century.

Audius, an unsparing critic of the morals of the clergy in Mesopotamia, having incurred their hostility, secured episcopal consecration and withdrew from the Church with his adherents, to Scythia,

[1] It is worthy of note that this is the first historical instance of a heretic delivered over to the civil power, or of heresy punished by death. Spain early created the Inquisition.

where he labored to disseminate the tenets of Anthropomorphism ; but his premature death (372) was a fatal blow to the sect, and the *Audians* became extinct early in the next century.

The *Eustathians*, holding marriage in fanatical contempt, rejecting the festivals of the Church, fasting on Sundays and feast-days, insisting on the surrender of all possessions, and putting all women in male attire, derived their name from Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste, the founder of monachism in the Eastern provinces, who changed several times from Catholicism to Arianism ; but the sect was early stifled (370) by the council of Gangra.

Bonosus, bishop of Sardica, toward the close of this century, being excommunicated for teaching that Mary had other children than Jesus, founded a sect to perpetuate his view ; but they presently affiliated with the Photinians in the East and the Adoptians in the West.

Sabbatius, a converted Jew, ordained priest by Marcian, the Novatian bishop of Constantinople, and compelled by the Novatian Synod of Sangarum in Bithynia, to

renounce, on oath, his aspirations to the episcopate, induced some country bishops to consecrate him, and on his death in exile at Rhodes, to which place he had been banished for his intrigues and falsity, the *Sabbatians* honored him as a martyr.

The elevation of Arsacius (404) to the see of Constantinople, from which John Chrysostom had been banished by jealousy, intrigue, and physical force, rent that Church in twain, thousands refusing to acknowledge the authority of the new archbishop, and persisting, despite imprisonment and torture, in worshipping as a separate body (under the name of *Johnites*), until, in the year 438, the young emperor was induced to consent to the return of the bones of their beloved patriarch to the shores of the Bosphorus, where they were received by enthusiastic multitudes, and deposited near the altar of the church of the Apostles.

Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople (hated by an unsuccessful rival, obnoxious to the ambitious patriarch of Alexandria,

suspected of Pelagianism by the bishop of Rome), denying the propriety of calling Mary *the mother of God*, was actively assailed on this account by the malevolent and jealous Cyril, presently (431) excommunicated and deposed by the third ecumenical council held at Ephesus, under the lead of this turbulent patriarch, and, defamed and maltreated, died (440) in great misery. But *Nestorianism* outlived its author, and, after generating an internal schism, between Egypt and the East, as to the person of Christ, was introduced into Persia by Thomas Barsumas, bishop of Nisibis, seconded by Maanes, bishop of Ardascira; the Church there, at a council held in Seleucia (498), separating wholly from the Church in the Roman empire, and adopting the name of *Chaldean Christians;* and from Persia it spread through Egypt, Syria, Arabia, India (where its adherents were known as *S. Thomas Christians*), and (636) to China; and, wherever it went, it erected temples and schools and hospitals, and guarded and perpetuated the episcopate.[1]

[1] "The great Nestorian pontiffs have, since the year 1559,

The *Monophysites* (a party holding that there was but one nature in Christ), headed (482) by Peter Fullo, patriarch of Antioch, and Peter Mongus, patriarch of Alexandria, were afterward split up into *Severians* (holding that the body of Christ had been subject to decay)—the adherents of Severus, created (513) patriarch of Antioch; into *Julianists* (who denied it)—followers of Julian, bishop of Halicarnassus (519); into *Caianists* (likewise convinced that the body of Christ had been so interpenetrated by the divine nature from the moment of conception as to be ever incorruptible)—disciples of Cainus, bishop of Alexandria (the two latter sects also going by the names of Aphthartodocetæ, Docetæ, Phantasiasts, etc., while the votaries of Severus were designated as Phthartolatræ, Ktistolatræ, and Creaticolæ); into *Agnoetæ* (who imputed igno-

been distinguished by the general denomination of Elias, and reside constantly in the city of Mosul. Their spiritual dominion is very extensive, takes in a great part of Asia, and comprehends also within its circuit the Arabian Nestorians; as also the Christians of St. Thomas, who dwell along the coast of Malabar."—Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History.

rance to the one (divine or human) nature of Christ)—proselytes of Theodosius, bishop of Alexandria; into *Cononists* (insisting on three natures in the Deity, absolutely equal, and joined together by no common essence, and on the imperishableness of the human *form*)—spiritual children of Conon, bishop of Tarsus; into *Damianists* (who distinguished the divine essence from the three persons, denying that each person was God, when considered in itself, and abstractly from the other two)—pupils of Damian, another bishop of Alexandria; but the various surviving sects were finally fused by Jacob Baradæus, a monk of the monastery of Phasilta, near Nisibis, who, consecrated, after fifteen years' residence in Constantinople, to the see of Nisibis, by Theodosius, the captive Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, went everywhere, "from the boundary of Egypt to the banks of the Euphrates, preaching during the day, and often walking thirty or forty miles in the night, to escape his persecutors," consecrating "two patriarchs, twenty-seven bishops, and a hundred thousand priests and deacons," until, at his

death (578), the community was firmly established in Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Egypt, Nubia, Abyssinia, and elsewhere, all animosities extinguished, all factions reconciled, and the *Jacobite Church* (as it was called after its second founder and father) was recognized as the Church of the countries into which his indefatigable zeal had carried and extended it.

But the council of Chalcedon (451) had forced the *Monophysites* (or *Eutychians*) from the Church. The orthodox patriarchs had been expelled from Antioch and Alexandria. The bishop of Rome had renounced all communion with the patriarch of Constantinople; and the *Acoimetai* (the monks of the *Studion*) were the only party in that city who continued in union with the Latin Church. The schism lasted until the abolition of the HENOTICON (519) by Justin I.; but the *Monophysites* have remained separate to this day, considering themselves banned by the decrees of Chalcedon (451). Those of them who submitted to the edict of the Emperor Marcian in favor of the decisions of that council were called *Melchites* (*i.e.*, Royalists) by their Jacobite brethren,

and their spiritual chief is styled the Patriarch of Antioch, and dwells at Damascus.

The recognition by the bishops of Rome (Vigilius and Pelagius) of the authority of the second council of Constantinople (the fifth ecumenical), held 553, and frequented by only one hundred and fifty bishops, by which the "Three Chapters" were condemned, led to the separation from the Latin communion of the churches of Northern Italy—Aquileja, Milan, etc.; nor was the schism healed till the accession of Gregory the Great.

In the VIIth century a fresh attempt to bring the *Monophysites* back to the Church of the Councils resulted in the formation of a new heretical sect, the *Monothelites* (who held the Monophysite view of one volition, the human will of Christ being absorbed in his divine will), whose doctrinal founder was Theodore, bishop of Pharan, in Arabia, and whose advocacy led to the excommunication (646) of Paul, the patriarch of Constantinople, by Theodore, bishop of Rome, and to the third council of Constantinople (680), in which the doctrine was

condemned as a heresy, and all *Monothelites* anathematized. But the sect found refuge among the Mardaites of Mt. Lebanon, whose abbot, John Maro (*d.* 701), formerly a monk in the famous convent of S. Maro, on the Orontes, they chose for their first bishop, and after whom they are called *Maronites.* In the year 1182, renouncing the doctrine of one will in Christ, they were admitted to the communion of the Latin Church, although their married men may become priests, but no priest may marry after he is in orders; and their present number is about 100,000. Their patriarch is always called Peter.

Macarius IV., patriarch of Antioch, who was present at the sixth ecumenical council (680), was a Monothelite, and the leader of a sect known as *Macarians.*

About the middle of the VIIIth century, while Boniface was establishing the institutions of Christianity in Germany, Adalbert, a Gaul, vaulted into the episcopate, without the knowledge of the archbishop, headed an ecclesiastical party among the eastern Franks, and forged a letter to the

human race purporting to have been written by Jesus Christ, and to have been carried from heaven by Michael, the archangel. Happily, the apostle of Germany had influence enough at Rome to secure the condemnation of this schismatic and impious prelate, which was effected by a council held at Rome, 748, when he was committed to prison, where he seems to have ended his days.

The *Adoptionists*, who held that, according to his human nature, Christ was only adopted by God (*filius adoptivus*), found a bishop to lead them and enforce their view in the person of Felix, bishop of Urgel, in the Pyrenees, who defended the tenet at the synod of Regensburg (792) in the presence of Charlemagne. Condemned, and imprisoned in Rome by Adrian I., he recanted, and, when released, repudiated the orthodox confession as made under compulsion, and fled into the country of the Moors. In 798 he wrote a book, and sent it to Alcuin and other learned men. The next year he was formally condemned by Leo III., at a council in Rome. And in the year 800, after a disputation between

Alcuin and himself at the council of Aix-la-Chapelle, he retracted, urged his adherents to return to the Church, and did what else he could to hasten the dissolution of the sect, which presently disappeared.

The "Children of the Sun" (or the *Thontrakians*, from the village of Thontrake, where their society started), an Armenian sect, which originated in the IXth century with Sembat, a Paulician, and which emphasized the necessity of personal Bible study and rejected the externals of religion, received a great impetus at the opening of the XIth century (1002) in the accession of the metropolitan, Jacob of Harkh, who, travelling through the country, preaching repentance and self-repudiation, and succeeding in the conversion of numbers of clergymen and others, aroused the jealousy and indignation of the Catholics of the Armenian Church, by whom he was speedily banned and killed, although the sect maintained its existence a while longer.

In Bulgaria, early in the XIIth century, the *Bogomilcs* (who held to two Sons of

God, Satanael and Christ) assumed an attitude of direct opposition to the Church, and, boasting of a hierarchy presided over by a "pope," were not even suppressed by the death (1116) of their leader Basil, whom the emperor unmasked by treachery, and for which Jael-like deed Anna Comnena, the pious daughter of Alexius, denominated her father τρισκαιδέκατον ἀπόστολον. In the year 1143, according to Giesler, two Cappadocian bishops, Clemens and Leontius, were deposed as *Bogomili*, by a council at Constantinople.

About the middle of this century we read of one Marcus, bishop of the Cathari [1] (doctrinally and institutionally connected with the *Bogomili*)—a little later denominated Albigenses, or those condemned (1176) by the council of Albi—under whom (1150) they were differentiated into Albanensians (from the place where their spiritual chief resided) and Concoresensians (from Coriza in Dalmatia); the former (holding to the doctrine of two eternal beings) subdividing into the sect whose leader was Belasmansa,

[1] Giesler's Ecclesiastical History; Kurtz's Church History, *in loco*.

bishop at Verona, and into the disciples of John de Lugio, bishop at Bergamo; the latter—the Concoresensians (contending for one eternal principle)—subdividing into the congregation of Baioli (the capital town of the province), whose bishop's name is not clearly made out (to which congregation or party the Albigenses settled in France belonged), and into the church of Concorezzo, whose bishop (1180–1200) was one Nazarius. In the year 1167, one Nicetas was bishop of the Cathari at Constantinople; and he it was who went to Lombardy, shortly after the schism under Marcus, to confirm the sect in the knowledge of ancient dualism; and a little later Catharian congregations, organized into dioceses, existed in Florence (where Philip Paternon [1228] was the Catharian bishop), Milan, Calabria, Sicily, and even in the States of the Church.

At the close of the XIIth century the *Waldensians* (called also in various places and at divers times Apostolicians, Arnaldists, Consolati, Boni homines, Leonista, Sabatati, Perfecti, Ultramontanes, Vaudois, etc.),

excommunicated by the Roman Church at the council at Verona under Lucius III. (1183), organized an ecclesiastical hierarchy among themselves, under the presidency of "bishops," originally ordained by Peter Waldo, their founder, himself only a citizen of Lyons; and from these old Waldensian "bishops," themselves without the apostolical succession, the "bishops" of the Bohemian Brothers and the Herrnhuters are descended.

Arsenius, the patriarch of Constantinople, having excommunicated the regent, Michael Palæologus, for putting out the eyes of the infant prince, with the intent of incapacitating him from reigning, and being in turn himself deposed and banished (1262), his adherents refused to acknowledge Joseph as his successor in the see, and separated from the State Church; nor would the *Arsenians* return to its communion until the bones of their founder had been solemnly interred in the church of S. Sophia (1312) by the patriarch Niphon, and all his old clerical opponents had been suspended for forty days.

About this time (1250), according to

Matthew Paris, the bishop of Porto wrote to the archbishop of Rouen that the Albigenses had set up one Bartholomew for their anti-pope, that he had consecrated several bishops and, residing first in Bulgaria, Croatia, and Dalmatia, had finally settled in the neighborhood of Toulouse.

In the next century a schism was caused in the Greek Church by the attempt to define the nature of the light seen on the Mount of Transfiguration—the monks of Mount Athos, headed by Gregory Palamas, archbishop of Thessalonica, insisting that God had then favored His three servants with that eternal light, in which He is ever encircled, which is distinct from His nature and essence; and Barlaam, afterward bishop of Gieræce, contending for the doctrine of the oneness of the attributes and essence of God. The *Barlaamites* were finally routed when, after ten years' dissension (1341–1351), a council held at Constantinople decided in favor of the *Palamites* and enacted such severe decrees against the believers in the one light only that Barlaam fled to Italy and joined the

Latin Church. And so ended the Hesychastic (Quietist) controversy.

In the year 1318 the bishop of Rome (John XXIII.) initiated a schism in the Armenian Church (a church already centuries old, with a long and regular succession of bishops), by sending thither a Dominican monk with the title and authority of an archbishop, whose see, which has been fixed at Naxivan, "still remains in the hands of the Dominicans, who alone are admitted to the ghostly dignity."[1]

The bishop of Rome also divided the Armenian Church in Poland by the intrusion of a Latin prelate into Lemberg.

Before the close of this century Rome also established a schismatic congregation in Kiova—ruled by its own metropolitan and opposed to the Russian bishops there resident.[2]

[1] In 1593, one Zerapion, a wealthy man and a proselyte to Rome, obtained the title and dignity of patriarch, "though there were already two patriarchs at the head of the Armenian Church. He did not, however, enjoy this dignity long; for, soon after his promotion, he was sent into exile by the Persian monarch, at the desire of those Armenians who adhered to the ecclesiastical discipline of their ancestors."

[2] In the year 1596 those who adhered to the Roman

In the xvith century, Julius III., bishop of Rome, consecrated (1553) one Sulaka patriarch of the *Chaldeans*, to whom he gave the name of John (although, since 1560, the other bishops connected with the schismatic party have been known as Simeon, with their residence in the city of Ormia, among the mountains of Persia); the native Nestorians elevating Simeon Barmana to the same patriarchate, whose successors, since the year 1559, have borne the name of Elias, with their see in Mosul, their jurisdiction including a great part of Asia, the Arabian Nestorians, and the *Christians of S. Thomas*, who dwell along the coast of Malabar.

It was in this same century that Don Alexis de Menezes, the schismatic (Latin) bishop of Goa, invited the Jesuits to assist him in compelling the *Christians of S. Thomas* to accept the yoke of Rome; and the horrors of that struggle are pilloried in the *index expurgatorius* of all right-minded Romanists.

communion were called *The United;* the title *Non-united* being given to all who preferred to remain under the jurisdiction of the ancient and original patriarchate of Constantinople.

It is not easy to say which is the schismatic bishop in Syria—whether the spiritual chief of the *Melchites*, the prelate who oversees the Church of the *Monophysites*, the papal vicar who assumes jurisdiction of the *Maronites*, or the titular bishop *in partibus* (created in Rome)—all of whom claim the title and dignity of patriarch of Antioch. Even the *Maronites*, who were admitted to the communion of Rome in the XIIth century, have not been consistently loyal to the Church of their adoption, for it is on record that "a large body of them joined the Waldenses, and another contingent—six hundred in number, with a bishop and several ecclesiastics at their head—fled into Corsica, and implored the protection of the republic of Genoa against the violence of the Inquisitors."

It was in this century (1569) that Pius V., bishop of Rome, issued the bull which, excommunicating the queen of England, and pretending to free her subjects from their allegiance to her, initiated the schism which led to the separation of thousands from the National Church, and, eventually, to the establishment of an alien and schis-

matic ecclesiastical hierarchy in the kingdom.

The year 1626 witnessed the rise of another schism, for which the bishop of Rome was responsible, in the intrusion of Alphonso Mendez, a Portuguese missionary, into the patriarchate of the old Abyssinian Church; but, happily, his unwisdom and insolence were so marked that, in the year 1634, he and his colleagues were expelled from the territories of Ethiopia.

In the same century one Andrew Achigian, having obtained from the bishop of Rome the title and dignity of patriarch, assumed the name of Ignatius XXIV. (as if he had been a lineal descendant of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch in the 1st century, and of the lawful patriarchs of Antioch), and lorded it over the Monophysites of Asia. After him there came, too, another Latin usurper, who entitled himself Ignatius XXV.; but the rightful successor of Ignatius I. had influence enough at court to secure the deposition and banishment of the new pretender, when the separatists returned to the Church.

About the same time the bishop of Rome intruded a schismatic prelate into the indigent Nestorian Church, and the prelates of this insignificant flock, whose ecclesiastical centre is fixed in the city of Diarbek (Amida), assume, in turn, the denomination of Joseph.

Toward the close of this century the bishop of Rome established Italian "Missions" in England, Scotland, and Ireland, which continue to this day, and perpetuate the schism initiated (1569) by Pius V.[1]

The separation of the six Nonjuring prelates from the Church of England, on the accession of William and Mary, led to a schism that involved twenty-seven bishops, from first to last, and lapped over on the XIXth century.[2]

It is related by Skinner, in his *Annals*, that when, in 1788, the Church of Scotland ceased to be a Nonjuring Church, one Brown, dissatisfied with the action of the bishops in submitting to the "Government of the kingdom as vested in the person of

[1] See chapters on *Roman Titulars in England*, *Roman Titulars in Scotland*, and *Roman Titulars in Ireland*.

[2] See chapter on *The English Nonjurors*.

his Majesty, King George III.," formed a party, and going to Bishop Rose, of Dumblane, then in his dotage, persuaded him to elevate him to the episcopal order. Questioned on the subject, the aged prelate, not knowing what he had done, made answer: "My sister may have done it, but not I." The schism lasted until the disaffected were removed by death.[1]

Only Loménie de Brienne, archbishop of Sens; Talleyrand, bishop of Autun; Jarente, bishop of Orleans; and Savines, bishop of Viviers, took the oath, and accepted the *Civil Constitution of the Clergy* proposed by the French revolutionists of 1790; the remaining prelates—one hundred and twenty-seven in all—protested and suffered. Thenceforth, there were two churches in France. Gobel, bishop of Lydda, was chosen the Constitutional Metropolitan of Paris, and distinguished himself as the eulogist of his patron Mirabeau, whom he proclaimed the *father of the new Church.* A little later, at the age of seventy, he abjured the Christian religion, sacrificing to the Goddess of Reason

[1] See chapter on *The Scottish Nonjurors.*

in his own cathedral church; and, in 1794, he was arrested, condemned, and executed as an atheist. Expilly, a clerical deputy, was elected bishop of Quimper, and consecrated in Paris, with Marolle, another bishop-elect, by Talleyrand, whose "ambition far surpassed the ecclesiastical sphere." Gregory, Claude le Coz, Lamourette, and Moses were elected to other vacated sees. And at last it came to pass that the Constitutional Church was more in favor with the people than the ancient Roman Church that had been superseded; and but for the *Concordat*, between the First Consul and Pius VII., signed July 15, 1801, in which it is declared that "the Apostolical Roman Catholic religion is the religion of the great majority of the French," etc., "the new church" had never, perhaps, been put to confusion.

Schisms in the Roman Church.

Only Infallibility can differentiate between the popes and antipopes who have from time to time divided the Church of Rome, and claimed simultaneously the allegiance of the Christian world.

Which of the three co-existing popes—Gregory XII. (1406–1415), who held his court at Friuli; Benedict XIII. (1394–1424), the Avignon pope, who held his court at Peniscola, in Spain; or John XXIII., the Roman pope (1410–1415)—was the schismatic prelate? And when the council of Constance (1415–1418) deposed them all—Benedict XIII., for perjury, heresy, and schism; and John XXIII., as "the Devil Incarnate," according to the talk of the day, charged with every conceivable crime, fifty-four accusations being preferred against him—and elected Cardinal Odo Colonna (Martin V.) to the see of Rome, and there were four bishops living consecrated to S. Peter's chair, only one of whom submitted to the sentence of deprivation,—how many were in a state of schism?

When the council of Pisa (1409) deposed Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., as "perjured heretics and schismatics," each of whom, however, continued to pose as S. Peter's successor and to curse his rival to the lowest hell, and elected Petrus Philargi (Alexander V.), and

there were three popes — which was *the* pope?

And what of the sacred triumvirate of the XIth century: whether was Benedict IX. (1033–1048), twice driven from Rome, Sylvester III. (1044), or Gregory VI. (1044–46), guilty of the sin of schism?

Nor is the problem easier when we attempt to decide between two simultaneous popes.

When Eugenius IV. (1431–1447) and Felix V. (1439–1449) were contending for the obedience of the world, the former denounced the latter as "a hell-dog," "Antichrist," "the golden calf," and "Mahomet."

In 1294 Boniface VIII. rescinded all the acts of Celestine, the hermit, after he had seized him and confined him to the Rock of Fumorn, where he died ten months later.

In 1159 Alexander III. proclaimed his rival "a forerunner of Antichrist;" and Victor IV. reciprocated, by denouncing Alexander as "the offspring of Belial, the spawn of hell."

In 1130 Anacletus II. was elected by a

majority of the conclave in opposition to Innocent II., who anathematized the new-made bishop as "a son of hell, who dared contest the kingdom of heaven with him." But presently this "son of hell" was the sole proprietor of the PATRIMONIUM PETRI, for Innocent had fled to France. In due time it came to pass that Anacletus "went to his own place;" and then Innocent returned, and was again THE INFALLIBLE.

In 1118 Gregory VIII. was elected in opposition to Gelasius II. The former was the schismatic, of course? Nay, not so. Gregory, backed by the kaiser, was too much for Gelasius, the Italian bishop, who was compelled to flee. Gregory, then, being in possession, was S. Peter's successor? Not at all. For the next pope (Calixtus II.) set him on a mangy camel, dressed in a bloody sheep-skin, and had him dragged from one prison to another until his death. Had the emperor not deserted him, he would, probably, have been canonized.

Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) and Clement III. held possession of S. Peter's chair by turns. On the death of Gregory, Clement

sat down thereon with Victor III., Urban II., and Paschal II.

In the IIIrd century there was a schism between Calixtus I. and Hippolytus; and, later, another between Cornelius and Novatian.

In the IVth century there was a schism between Liberius and Felix; and, later, another between Damasus and Ursinus.

In the Vth century there was a schism between Boniface I. and Eulalius; and, later, another between Symmachus and Laurentius.

In the VIth century there was a schism between Boniface II. and Dioscorus; and, later, another between Sylverius and Vigilius.

In the VIIth century there was a schism between Petrus and Theodorus, and John V.; and, later, another between Paschal and Theodorus, elected in opposition to Sergius.

In the VIIIth century there was a schism between Theophylactus and Paul; and, later, another between Philip, Stephen III., and Constantinus; the latter of whom was deposed by Stephen, shut up in a monastery, and his eyes put out.

In the IXth century there was a schism between Eugenius II. and Zizimus; another, later, between Benedict III. and Anastasius; another, yet later, between Formosus and Sergius; and a fourth (according to one authority) between Stephen VII., John IX., Romanus I., and Theodorus II.

In the Xth century there was a schism between Leo V. and Christophorus, who deposed and imprisoned his rival; another, later, between John XII. and Leo VIII.; and a third between Benedict VI., John XIV., and Boniface VII., the latter of whom began his reign by having Benedict VI. strangled in the castle of S. Angelo, and concluded it by the poisoning of John XIV. in the same stronghold.

In the XIth century there was a schism between Gregory V., Calabritanus John XVI., and Sylvester II.; another, later, between Gregory and Benedict VIII.; a third between Sylvester III., Benedict IX., and Gregory VI.; a fourth between Benedict X. and Stephen IX.; a fifth between Alexander II. and Honorius II. (Cadalus); and a sixth between Gregory VII. (Hildebrand) and Clement III. (Wibertus).

In the XIIth century there was a schism between Paschal II., Theodoricus, Albertus, and Maginulfus (Sylvester IV.); another, later, between Gelasius II. and Gregory VIII. (Burdinus); a third between Calixtus II. and Celestine (Theobaldus Buccapecus); a fourth between Innocent II., Anacletus, and Victor IV. (Gregory); a fifth between Alexander III., Victor IV. (Octavianus), Paschal III. (Guido Cremensis), Calixtus III. (Johannes de Struma), and Innocent III. (Landus Titinus).

In the XIVth century there was a schism between Nicholas V. and John XXII.; and the great schism of the West, which lasted until the year 1429, dates from the year 1378, during which time there was a pope at Rome, another at Avignon, and often others elsewhere.

In the XVth century, a few years after the reunion of the several sections of the Roman Church, another schism was initiated by the election, by the council of Basle (1439), of Amadeus, first duke of Savoy (Felix V.), in opposition to Eugenius IV., who, however, triumphed in the issue.

XIX

ORDINATIONS?

"Quid facit, excepta ordinatione, episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat."—*Jerome.*

CHAPTER XIX

ORDINATIONS?

Presbyteral Ordination.

Every student of ecclesiastical history of those times is aware that on the outbreak of a schism in Carthage, consequent on the appointment (248) of Cyprian, scarcely more than a neophyte, to the bishopric of that city, Novatus, a presbyter, the leader of the party, advanced one Felicissimus, a man of wealth, to the office of a deacon, who, eventually, became the *Magnus Apollo* of the opposition; and, though excommunicated (251), together with the five malcontent presbyters, by a council of North African bishops, it does not appear that he was deposed. Indeed, Cyprian's protest is curious in the omission of any reference to the invalidity of the ordination: *Felicissimus suum diaconum nec permittente me sciente sua factione et ambitione constituit.* It was thus he wrote to Cornelius, bishop of Rome

(*Ep.* XLVIII.): "He it is who, without my leave or knowledge, of his own factiousness and ambition, created his attendant Felicissimus a deacon."

At the time of the Arian controversy in Alexandria, Alexander being archbishop, Colluthus, one of the city presbyters, pleading the need of the times (as Wesley did just fourteen hundred and sixty years later), assumed the functions of a bishop, and proceeded to ordain presbyters and deacons. Among them was one, Ischyras, of whom Alexander of Alexandria wrote to Alexander of Constantinople[1] and concerning whom Athanasius has somewhat to say in one of his *Apologies*. This man's case came before a synod held at Alexandria, and he was incontinently deposed, the argument taking this form: "How came Ischyras to be a priest? Who ordained him? Was it Colluthus? Yes, matter of fact stands thus. Well, but Colluthus being never any more than a priest, all his ordinations have been declared null; and those promoted by him have been pronounced laymen, and treated as such."

[1] Theodoret: Ecclesiastical History, i., 4.

Joseph Bingham, the ecclesiastical archæologist, calls attention to those presbyters who were divested of their rank and reduced to the status of the laity by the council of Sardica (347), because Euthychianus and Musœus, who ordained them, were not bishops at all, only presbyters.

Often quoted, too, is the fact that Aerius, the director of one of the earliest Christian hospitals, in Sebaste, Pontus, and a presbyter, was reckoned among the heretics of his age, because he was wont to assume that he had authority to impose hands in ordination; and, when he separated (360) from the Church, the Aërians were well supplied with priests and deacons of his own creation.

The second council of Constantinople (381), convoked by order of the emperor, Theodosius, attended by one hundred and fifty bishops, although the signatures amount to no more than one hundred and forty-two, quickly proceeded to declare that Maximus, The Cynic, had not been made bishop in a regular or lawful way, that he was a usurper of the see of Constantinople, and that *all his ordinations were*

null and void: a decision tantamount to a decree that orders are not valid unless received from a bishop.

The second council of Seville, held in the chapter house of the Jerusalem Church at Seville, on the 13th of November, 618 (or 619), which was attended by eight bishops of the province of Betica and the clergy of the city; two laymen—the governor of the province and the chancellor — being allowed seats; Isidore, the archbishop presiding,—was very severe on presbyteral interposition, ordering (canon v.) the deposition of a presbyter and two deacons, because a priest present, owing to the blindness of the bishop who ordained them, had pronounced the words of benediction.

In monasteries on the continent the presbyter-abbot seems to have had the power of ordination. At least there is good authority[1] for asserting that in the Rule of the Abbot Aurelian, a contemporary of Columbkille, it is thus written: *And when the abbot wishes he has authority to ordain.*[2]

[1] Migne Patrol. Cursus, lxviii., 392.

[2] "Et quando abbas voluerit ordinandi habeat potestatem."

Richard Ledred, bishop of Ossory, chancellor of the University of Oxford, then dean of Lichfield, and (1347) consecrated to the see of Armagh, primate, is on record [1] as saying: *If all bishops were dead at one and the same time, the minor priests would be able as bishops to ordain and even to consecrate.*[2]

Was Thomas Lancaster, bishop-elect of Armagh three hundred years later, cognizant of this dictum, and did he think that episcopacy had run out that, months before his consecration to the see to which he had been promoted by Queen Elizabeth, he went around ordering deacons and priests? Very curious that letter [3] from Bishop Jewell to Archbishop Parker on the subject! Stranger still his omission to animadvert upon the orders thus received.

[1] O'Conor: Columbanus ad Hibernos, No. VII., Introductory Letter XXVI.

[2] "Si omnes episcopi simul essent defuncti, sacerdotes minores possent episcopos ordinane et etiam consecrare."

So also Archbishop Usher, in his letter to Dr. Bernard. See Baxter's Life, p. 206.

[3] This letter is numbered xlv. in Canon Jelf's edition of the bishop's works (vol. viii., p. 194).

Everybody knows that Dr. Coke, the clergyman of the Church of England whom Wesley ordained (1784) superintendent of the Methodists in America, applied to Bishop White, of Pennsylvania, for the "re-ordination" of his preachers; which thing he most assuredly would not have done had he, or Mr. Asbury, or Mr. Wesley been satisfied as to the *validity* of the orders transmitted or received.[1]

Invalid Episcopal Ordinations.

The famous Origen, who was ordained priest (circ. 228) at Cæsarea by his friend Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, and Theoctistus, bishop of Cæsarea, was deposed (231) by a synod of Egyptian bishops and priests of Alexandria, at the instigation of his diocesan, Bishop Demetrius, who was incensed at his receiving sacred orders in another jurisdiction; and this case was, presumably, in the mind of the council of Nicæa in the passage of canon xvi., which decrees that "if any (bishop) shall dare surreptitiously to take and in his own church ordain a man belonging to another,

[1] See chapter on *Presbyteral Bishops.*

without the consent of his own proper bishop, let the ordination be void."

In the year 418, Amator, the only son of noble and wealthy parents, desirous of entering the holy estate of matrimony, was not a little amazed to hear the senile bishop, whom he had requested to perform the ceremony, mumble, by mistake, the office for the ordination of a clerk, which he read to the very end, no one else the wiser. Before the marriage festivities were concluded, the aged prelate, good old Valerian, died; and, when Helladius was chosen in his stead, the young couple hied to him with the story; and he, when he had heard of the interpretation put upon the incident by Amator and his girlish bride, forthwith advanced the groom to be a deacon, and gave the veil to Martha. On the death of Helladius, the choice of the clergy and people fell on Amator, and he was numbered with the apostles.

Adamnan has this story to tell of the presbyter Findchan, one of the great Columba's disciples (521–597), who, it appears, had brought over with him from Ireland, in the clerical habit, one Aidus,

surnamed The Black, of royal descent, a cruel and wicked man, and guilty, among other things, of the murder of Diermit, son of Kerboil, king of all Ireland. After a stay of some time in his monastery in Ethica, Findchan came to conceive a great affection for this freebooter, and desired to see him in the priesthood. A bishop was accordingly sent for; but, on learning of the crimes of Aidus, he refused to lay his hands upon him, unless Findchan, too, would lay his right hand upon his head, and share the responsibility. When the uncanonical ordination was completed, rumors of it soon reached the ears of Columba, who, seeking out the offenders, thundered out this judgment on them: "That right hand which Findchan, impiously and against the law of the Church, has laid upon the head of this son of perdition, shall speedily rot, and after much agony be buried in the earth before its owner. He shall himself survive for many years; but Aidus, thus unlawfully ordained, shall return like a dog to his vomit; he shall again be guilty of cruel murder, and at last, pierced with a lance,

shall fall from a tree into the water, and perish. Such an end he deserved long before, who murdered the king of Ireland." That this double prophecy was fulfilled, what reader of Irish history can doubt! Certainly Adamnan bears record that Findchan lost his hand long before the worms got his body; and that Aidus, a priest only in name, took to wallowing in the mire once more, and, falling from the prow of a ship into a lake, pierced through with a lance, was drowned and troubled men no more.

In the year 853, the council of Soissons, held in the monastery of S. Medard, under Hincmar of Rheims, composed of twenty-six bishops, from five provinces, and favored with the occasional presence of the king, Charles the Bold, took occasion (canon i.) to impeach the validity of the ordinations performed by Ebbo, deposed from the archbishopric of Rheims, for taking part in an uprising against the king, but shortly after, appointed bishop of Hildesheim by Lewis the German, and confirmed by the pope; and, for thirteen years, the priests whom he had ordained,

after his transfer to the diocese of Hildesheim, which, canonically, he had no right to accept without the consent of his brother-bishops, were treated as laymen only. But in August, 866, another (the third) council was held at Soissons, by order of Charles, thirty-five bishops attending; and then Ebbo's clerks were restored to the rank from which they had been degraded, and one of them, Vulgude, was that same year consecrated archbishop of Bourges.

The city of Kief, the cradle of the Russian Church, where (988) the whole population, by command of the king, Vladimir, descended into the Dnieper, while some Byzantine priests read aloud the baptismal formula from the cliffs near by, is the possessor of a hand that once belonged to Clement of Rome; and, in the year 1147, when Clement of Smolensk was elected bishop, in spite of the protest of the patriarch of Constantinople, the council there and then assembled laid this dead hand upon his head; *and thus he was consecrated!*

As an indication of the temper of those

times, it may be worthy of note that during the latter half of the XVIth century, the daughter of Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn upon the throne, many Englishmen, not satisfied with episcopal ordination, went beyond sea to receive orders from foreign presbyteries, and that among the number were some who had been raised to the office of a deacon by the imposition of the hands of a bishop.[1]

In 1709, the Rev. Mr. Greenshields,[2] who was ordained by the bishop of Ross, and afterward held a curacy in Ireland, removing to Edinburgh, and venturing to use the English service there, cited by the Presbytery, and then by the magistrates, to appear before them, and give an account of his license and authority to exercise ministerial functions, was thrown into prison, for refusing to submit to the sentence of the Presbytery, and, on application to the Court of Session for liberation, was informed that no minister ordained by an

[1] Strype's Annals, vol. ii., p. 524. Neale's Puritans (Harpers, 1871), I. 114, 144, 152.

[2] Lawson: History of the Scottish Episcopal Church, II., 196. Daniel De Foe: Preface to the History of the Union, 1776, p. 19.

exauctorate (a bishop deprived of authority) had ordination according to the law which established Presbyterianism!

["*Neither presbyter, deacon, nor any of the ecclesiastical order shall be ordained without a charge, nor unless the person ordained is particularly appointed to a church in a city or a village, or to a martyry, or to a monastery. And if any shall be ordained without a charge the Holy Synod decrees, to the reproach of the ordainer, that such an ordination shall be inoperative, and shall nowhere have effect.*"—COUNCIL OF CHALCEDON (451), Canon vi.]

Localis Ordinatio: Ordination without a title.

The erudite Jerome, early a student at Rome of Greek philosophy and Latin literature, baptized at the age of twenty, but a Ciceronian, rather than a Christian, in the realm of letters until awakened by a dream at the age of thirty-four, was ordained a presbyter some five years later, (379), "with license to continue a monk and return to his monastery again."

Paulinus, the richest man of his age, according to Augustine, consul, married, was made presbyter (394) at Barcelona, with the understanding that "he should not be confined to that church, but remain a priest at large."

Of Macedonius, a Syrian anchoret, it is related by Theodoret, that he was withdrawn from his cell in the desert, ordained a presbyter by Flavian, patriarch of Antioch (381–404), and then allowed to go back to his favorite solitudes.

The Chalcedonian canon was enacted to put a stop to such ordinations: titular clerks were to cease; and all clerks were to have a title (*titulus*), or fixed source of income, that they might not be a burden on the Church, *i.e.*, they were not to be ordained unless appointed to some particular office or congregation.

Among the *Excerpta* of Egbert, archbishop of York (750), is one (52), which reaffirms that no person shall be ordained *absolutely*, or without naming the place to which he is ordained.[1] Edwin Hatch notes that the canon of Chalcedon was reenacted, occasion arising, in the Carolinian Capitularies (789), the Capit. Francofurt (794), and elsewhere, about that time; and that the Pontificals of Egbert, Dunstan, Vatican ap. Muratori, Rodrad, Rouen, Reims, Noyon, Ratold, and the

[1] Hart's *Ecclesiastical Records.*

Gelasian Sacramentary, required the ordinand to designate the particular church from which he was to derive his income.

The Council of Placenza, held (1095) by Urban II., at which two hundred bishops attended, with four thousand other ecclesiastics, and thirty thousand laymen, and whose first and third sessions were held in the open air, that all might participate, enacted the canon (xv.): *We decree that an ordination without a title be accounted null.*[1]

The national council of Westminster, held, in 1200, by Primate Walter, after due deliberation, formulated its views and decision in this canon (vi.): "*If a bishop shall ordain any man to be a deacon or a priest without a title, let him maintain him till he can provide for him in some church.*"

Five hundred and forty years later Dr. Sherlock, bishop of Salisbury, remarked in the House of Lords, occasion demanding: "According to the canons of the Church of England, the bishop is not to ordain any man without a title, that is, some place where he is to preach, and by

[1] Decernimus ut sine titulo facta ordinatio irrita habeatur.

which he may support himself, of which he must exhibit to the bishop a certificate; and, if a bishop ordains any man without such a certificate, he is obliged to maintain him till he get him preferred to some ecclesiastical living."[1]

Re-ordination.

Novatian, the Roman presbyter, consecrated to the see of Rome (251), by three Italian bishops, in opposition to Cornelius, naturally ordained a great number of deacons and priests; and, as the *Novatiani* had spread into Egypt, Armenia, Pontus, Bithynia, Cilicia, Cappadocia, Syria, Arabia, and Mesopotamia, the great schism was one of the questions that came before the council of Nicæa (325) for consideration; and it was decreed (canon viii.) that their clergy, on returning to the Church, *should be ordained* — *ὥστε χειροθετουμένους τούτους μένειν οὕτως ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ.*

The case of Meletius, another schismatic, also came before these fathers; and, after ordering that his clergy, on their return to

[1] Grub: Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, iv., 39.

the Church, should[1] receive "a more sacred ordination," they conceded to him the "honorary rank of bishop"—the episcopal character without episcopal jurisdiction.

As to the Paulianists—the adherents of Paul of Samosata, bishop of Antioch, deposed (269) for heresy, they were to be re-baptized, on entering the Church, and their clergy to be re-ordained as well as re-baptized (canon xix.).[2]

The council also enacted a canon (xvi.) to the effect that a presbyter ordained without the consent of his lawful diocesan must be re-ordained by his own bishop to have the ecclesiastical right to minister.

When some of the Arian clergy wished to return to the Catholic Church, it was enacted by a council (1 Aurel., 511) that they might be admitted to office *cum im-*

[1] In pursuance of this decree, as Bingham has made out, Theodore, Bishop of Oxyrinchus, re-ordained the Meletian presbyters on their return to the Church. And yet the African Church always allowed the ordination of the Donatist clergy to stand!

[2] Jacobson, in Herzog's Theological and Ecclesiastical Encyclopedia (INCAPACITY), says "it was repeatedly declared that if it was discovered that persons ordained had not been baptized (or properly baptized), they should be baptized, and then re-ordained."

positæ manus benedictione; and a hundred years later, as Hatch goes on to say, clerks ordained (?) by Scotch or British bishops (a Scottorum vel Britonum *episcopis*), and those advanced to the priesthood by bishops without a diocese (*episcopi ambulantes*), were compelled to submit to a like ceremony.

The national council of Toledo, held on the 9th of December, 633, attended by sixty-six archbishops and bishops, under the presidency of Isidore of Seville, enacted a canon (xxviii.), prescribing the *ritual of re-ordination* for those who had been unjustly degraded.

Across the Channel, Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury (*d.* 690), required the holy and humble-minded Chad, late bishop of York, to submit to re-consecration on his appointment to the see of Lichfield, alleging that two of the bishops concerned in elevating him to the episcopal order were "defiled with the heresy of shaving their whole heads and observing Easter on the wrong day"! A little later such re-consecration was made a canonical requirement.[1]

[1] "Qui ordinati sunt Scottorum vel Britonnum epis-

Jeremy Collier quotes Gregory III., bishop of Rome (731–741), as laying it down for a rule that when it was questionable whether the person who ordained a priest was a bishop or not, the person was to be re-ordained by the diocesan before being admitted to any priestly function.

In the xith century, Leo IX., another bishop of Rome (1049–1054), ordained over again those who had been admitted to the priesthood by prelates who had obtained their sees by purchase.[1]

Non-Episcopal Ordinations.

In the year 1610, at a consecration held in the chapel of London House, on Sunday, the 21st day of October, the bishops of London, Ely, Rochester, and Worcester communicated the episcopal character to three Scotch Presbyterian ministers, whose names and

copi, qui in Pascha vel tonsura Catholicæ non sunt ordinati ecclesiæ, iterum a Catholico episcopo manus impositione confirmentur."

[1] The Rev. Edwin Hatch calls attention, in his article on ORDINATION, in Smith's Dictionary of Christian Antiquities, to a Galatian inscription of the year 416, which gives a record of one who was *twice* presbyter—δὶς γενόμενος πρεσβύτερος.

compellations stand thus in the register: Mr. John Spotswood, minister and concionator, as the king's mandate speaks; Mr. Gawen Hamilton, minister and concionator; Mr. Andrew Lamb, minister and concionator. These were also numbered among the "Tulchan[1] bishops" (without the succession and without consecration) that "were subject to the discipline of the Kirk"; but of these orders no account was made; and, though they were raised to the highest degree without passing through the intermediate orders of deacon and presbyter, it was not because they had previously been "ministers in good standing" in another religious body, but because the episcopal character could be given by one consecration, as the primate, Dr. Bancroft, argued out of ancient ecclesiastical history, citing the cases of Ambrose, Nectarius, Eucherius, and others, who, from mere laymen, were advanced at once into the chair of an apostle.[2]

In the year 1661, the Scottish succession having again run out, Thomas Sydserf, the

[1] See Chapter on *Tulchan Bishops*.

[2] See CHAPTER VI., in BISHOPS' BLUE BOOK.

sole surviving Scots bishop, having been translated to the see of Orkney—James Sharp, "execrated by the Presbyterians as their Judas, traitor, and betrayer," and Robert Leighton, the son of Alexander Leighton, the author of "Zion's Plea against Prelacy," having come to London for the purpose, were raised to the episcopal order by the bishops of London, Worcester, Carlisle, and Landaff, but not until they had disclaimed the validity of their Presbyterian ordination, and had been privately admitted to the diaconate and priesthood. John Fairfoul and James Hamilton, consecrated bishops at the same time, had been ordained by the Scottish bishops of the old succession, and as to them there was no question. Of these, "the Scottish Bishops of the Second Anglican Consecration," James Sharp was elevated to the archbishopric of St. Andrews; Andrew Fairfoul, to the archbishopric of Glasgow; James Hamilton, to the bishopric of Galloway; and Robert Leighton, to the bishopric of Dunblane.

Two years later, the death of David Mitchell, bishop of Aberdeen, created no

small vacancy in the newly restored Church. Even while a Presbyterian minister in Edinburgh, at the time (1638) the national covenant was imposed, he was a zealous supporter of the liturgy; and, because "his ecclesiastical principles were those of Laud,[1] and he had declined the jurisdiction of the assembly, and refused to give the presbytery of Edinburgh any other name than that of brethren of the exercise," *etc.*, he was deprived by the famous Glasgow Assembly of that same year; and, obliged to flee from his own country, he took refuge in Holland, where he supported himself by his skill as a watchmaker. Appointed in 1661 to the see of Aberdeen, he was consecrated at St. Andrews, on Sunday the first of June, by the primate, Archbishop Sharp, and the bishops of Dunkeld and Moray (consecrated twenty-four days previously); and of him it is recorded that he always "insisted on re-ordaining ministers who had received only Presbyterian ordination," although the other prelates had no rule on the subject, but would re-ordain, if

[1] See his letter to Bishop Leslie, of Raphoe, under date March, 1638.

requested.[1] Indeed, it is not proven that the bishops nominate of Dunkeld (George Haliburton, minister at Perth), Moray (Murdoch Mackenzie, minister at Elgin), Ross (John Paterson, minister at Aberdeen), Caithness (Patrick Forbes, son of John Forbes, minister at Alford), Brechin (David Strachan, minister at Fettercairn), and The Isles (Robert Wallace, minister at Barnwell in Ayrshire), who were consecrated (May 7, 1661) by Archbishops Sharp and Fairfoul and Bishop Hamilton on their return from London, had in every case received episcopal ordination as deacons and priests; but, if any of them had merely Presbyterian orders, there is no evidence that they were reordained.[2]

John Bramhall, chaplain to the archbishop of York (1623), bishop of Londonderry (1634), an exile during the Revolution, but made archbishop of Armagh (1661) after the Restoration, insisted on the reordination of all Presbyterian ministers

[1] Morer: Short Account of Scotland, pp. 59–64. Symson: Present State of Scotland, p. 241. Gordon: Reformed Bishop, pp. 84, 161, 165.

[2] Grub: Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, vol. iii., p. 199.

who would serve at the altars of the Church, but declared that he did not annul the minister's former orders (if he had any), nor determine their validity or invalidity; much less did he condemn all the sacred orders of foreign churches, whom he left to their own Judge; but that he only supplied whatever was before wanting, as required by the canons of the Anglican Church; and that he provided for the peace of the Church, that occasion of schism might be removed, and the consciences of the faithful satisfied, and that they might have no manner of doubt of his ordination, nor decline his presbyterial acts as invalid.[1] All of which the primate inserted in his "letters of orders."

Jeremy Taylor, bishop of Down and Connor, would have done the same for the new order of ministers of his diocese, but they would none of him, nor would they so much as confer with him on the subject.

Bishop Mant (*d.* 1848), in his "History of the Church of Ireland" (I. 453 8), tells

[1] Bishop Vesey: Life of Primate Bramhall. Bp. Mant: Hist. of the Ch. of Ireland, i., 623. Daniel Neal: Hist. of the Puritans, ii., 238. Nichols: Defence of the Ch. of England, Introd., p. 112.

of an ordination in the diocese of Down and Connor (his own two centuries later), recorded in the "Regal Visitation Book" of the diocese (1633), in which Robert Echlin, the ordinary, admitted one Robert Blair (1623) to the orders of deacon and priest. All seems fair on the surface. But Blair, in a personal narrative, says that, having been invited by Lord Claneboy, of Scotland, to settle in the parish of Bangor, County Down, he declined the offer because he "could not submit to the use of the English liturgy, nor to episcopal government." His lordship promised that he should have "free entry into the ministry;" and the process is thus described by Blair: "The Viscount Claneboy, my noble patron, did, on my request, inform the bishop how opposite I was to Episcopalians and their liturgy, and had the influence to procure my admission on easy and honorable terms. Yet, lest his lordship had not been plain enough, I declared my opinion fully to the bishop at our first meeting, and found him yielding beyond my expectation. The bishop said to me: 'I hear good of you,

and will impose no conditions on you; I am old, and can teach you ceremonies, and you can teach me substance; only I must ordain you, else neither I nor you can answer the law nor brook the land.' I answered him that his sole ordination did utterly contradict my principles: but he replied both wittily and submissively, 'Whatever you account of episcopacy, yet I know you account a presbytery to have divine warrant; will you not receive orders from Mr. Cunningham and the adjacent brethren, and let me come in among them in no other relation than a presbyter?' This I could not refuse, and so the matter was performed." One of the first acts of Blair was to rebuke his patron for kneeling at the Lord's Supper. Invited by Bishop Echlin to preach at the Lord Primate's triennial visitation of the diocese (1626), which was holden by his officials, Ussher being in England, Blair took occasion to show that Christ had instituted no bishops, alleging the testimony (1) of the Scriptures, (2) of the fathers, (3) of the moderate divines of the day. Four years later, by request of the same prelate, he

preached an assize sermon before the lords justices, who came annually to the northern circuit, in which he took occasion to speak of "the crafty bishop," and to attribute to the Lord whatever comfort and credit he enjoyed. In 1632, the bishop was compelled to depose him "for irregularities and lawlessness."

The same records ("The Regal Visitation Book") contain an account of the ordination (1630), by Andrew Knox, bishop of Raphoe, of a certain John Livingston (or Liviestowne), who, "in consequence of his opposition to prelacy, was silenced by Spottiswoode, archbishop of St. Andrews, 1627," but managed to get "free entry" into Ireland. In "An Historical Essay upon the Loyalty of the Presbyterians in Great Britain and Ireland, from the Reformation to this present year 1713," there lies imbedded an abstract prepared by Livingstone himself, setting forth the manner of his ordination. And, according to his account, it was on this wise: "About August, 1630, I got letters from the Viscount Clanniboy to come to Ireland, in reference to a call to Killenchy; whither

I went, and got an unanimous call from the parish. And because it was needful I should be ordained to the ministry, and the bishop of Down, in whose diocese Killenchy was, being a timorous man, would require some engagement; therefore my Lord Clanniboy sent some with me, and wrote to Mr. Andrew Knox, bishop of Raphoe: who, when I came and had delivered the letters from my Lord Clanniboy, and from the Earl of Wigton, and some others, told me he knew my errand: that I came to him because I had scruples against episcopacy and ceremonies, according as Mr. Josias Welsh and some others had done before; and that he thought his old age was prolonged for little other purpose but to do such offices; that if I scrupled to call him 'my lord' he cared not much for it; all he would desire of me, because they got there but few sermons, was, that I would preach at Ramallen the first Sabbath; and that he would send Mr. Cunningham and two or three neighboring ministers to be present; who after sermon should give me imposition of hands. But, although they performed the

work, he behoved to be present; and although he durst not answer it to the State, he gave me the Book of Ordination; and desired that anything I scrupled at I should draw a line over it in the margin, and that Mr. Cunningham should not read it. But I found that it had been so marked by some others before me, that I needed not to mark anything in it." Thus ended the interview; and, a little later, John Livingston was admitted to the priesthood of the Church, the bishop lending nothing but his presence to the ceremony, and not attempting to participate.[1] In 1632 he shared the fate of Blair, being thrust out of the Church for "irregularities and lawlessness."

In 1667, the Presbyterians of England, aided by Sir Matthew Hale, Bishop Wilkins, and others, proposed that, as a condition to union with the Church, the words

[1] According to the author of *Loyalty of the Presbyterians*, this practice was common then, "all those of the same persuasion who were ordained in Ireland between that time (1622) and the year 1642 being ordained after the same manner." And he adds: "All of them enjoyed the Church and tithes, though they remained Presbyterians still and used not the Liturgy." See also Neal: History of the Puritans (Harpers, 1871), vol. i., p. 261.

of ordination should be changed so as to read: "Take thou legal authority to preach the word of God and administer the sacraments in any congregation in England where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto," the word "legal" being considered a sufficient salvo for the intrinsic validity of the orders already received.[1]

In September, 1689, after the accession of William and Mary, a royal commission was issued, authorizing certain individuals to meet and consider matters connected with the Church; and when the question of *re-ordination* was to be settled, the commissioners decided that the hypothetical form should be adopted, in the case of the Dissenters as in the case of uncertain baptism, in these words: "*If thou art not already ordained, I ordain thee.*" This, it is said, would have satisfied many of the non-conformists.[2] And it is well known, as Lathbury remarks, that Tillotson, Burnet, Tenison, and all the men of

[1] Abbey and Overton: The English Church in the Eighteenth Century, p. 170. Bishop Short: History of the Church of England, § 710 n.

[2] Lathbury: History of Convocation, p. 321. Bishop Short: History of the Church of England, § 710.

that school, were willing to waive the question of Presbyterian orders by adopting this proposal. In such a case non-conformist ministers would have been admitted in the manner adopted by the ancient Church with those who had been ordained by heretics. But Overall, bishop of Norwich (1618), had anticipated this plan of comprehension in the case of Delaune, a French Protestant, whom he would have admitted to the ministry of the Church with these words: "*If thou art not ordained before, etc.*"

According to the bishop of Sodor and Man (Thomas Vowler Short), Ussher and Davenant alone, among the bishops, allowed of the validity of the ordination of foreign Protestant churches.[1]

But the question is one of extreme delicacy and difficulty.

It seems certain that William Whittingham, one of the Marian exiles, and minister to the English refugees at Geneva, was preferred, on his return home (1563), to the deanery of Durham, where he remained some fifteen years or more, when

[1] History of the Church of England, § 710 n.

proceedings were instituted (1579) against him for not being ordained according to the rites of the Church of England.[1]

Thomas Cartwright, B.D., was certainly Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in Cambridge in the year 1570 (Matthew Parker, primate), one of those who, having received deacon's orders in the Church of England, chose to be made full ministers by the presbyteries of foreign churches, and urgent, in public, for the reduction of the ministers of the Church to two orders —bishops and deacons.[2] The statute 13 Elizabeth, cap. xii., gave liberty to ministers of the Scotch and other foreign churches to exercise their ministry in England without re-ordination.

In 1578, Walter Travers,[3] who "commenced bachelor of divinity in Cambridge," as delicious old Fuller observes,

[1] Daniel Neal: History of the Puritans (Harpers, 1871), vol. i., p. 145.

[2] Strype's Annals, vol. i., pp. 628, 629. Life of Parker, p. 312.

[3] Daniel Neal: History of the Puritans (Harpers, 1871), vol. i., p. 144. Bishop Short: History of the Church of England, § 454. Thomas Fuller: Church History of Britain, Book IX. Appeal of Injured Innocence, p. 518. See also Izaac Walton: The Life of Mr. Richard Hooker.

went beyond the sea, was ordained minister by the presbytery at Antwerp, and, without having other ordination, became afternoon preacher (lecturer) in the Temple, was proffered the divinity professorship in the University of St. Andrews, and, when silenced by Archbishop Whitgift (although he had been recommended to his position in the Temple by the bishop of London, the diocesan thereof), was invited over by Adam Loftus, archbishop of Dublin and chancellor of Ireland, to be provost of Trinity College, and there continued a number of years. Fuller's animadvertor, Dr. Heylin, refers to this Antwerp presbytery, as a "mongrel company, consisting of two blue aprons to each crewel night-cap." But Neal's description should be set alongside.

In 1582, Edmund Grindal, archbishop of Canterbury, commanded Dr. Aubrey, his vicar-general, to license Mr. John Morrison, a Scots divine, who had had no other ordination than what he received from a Scots presbytery, to preach over his whole province, and "to celebrate the Divine Offices, to minister the Sacraments, etc."

The words of the license are as follows: "Since you, the aforesaid John Morrison, about five years past, in the town of Garrett, in the county of Lothian, of the kingdom of Scotland, were admitted and ordained to sacred orders and the holy ministry, by the imposition of hands, according to the laudable form and rite of the Reformed Church of Scotland; and since the congregation of that county of Lothian is conformable to the orthodox faith, and sincere religion now received in this realm of England, and established by public authority: we, therefore, as much as lies in us, and as by right we may, approving and ratifying the form of your ordination and preferment done in such manner aforesaid, grant unto you a license and faculty, with the consent and express command of the most reverend father in Christ, the Lord Edmund, by the Divine Providence archbishop of Canterbury, to us signified, that in such orders by you taken, you may and have power in any convenient places in and throughout the whole province of Canterbury, to celebrate divine offices, to minister the sacraments,

etc., as much as in you lies; and we may *de jure*, and as far as the laws of the kingdom do allow." The license is dated April 6, 1582.[1]

But about the same time the bishop of London dealt out very different measure to one Robert Wright, fourteen years resident in the University of Cambridge, domestic chaplain to Lord Rich, in whose chapel, in the hundreds of Essex, he preached without interruption during the lifetime of his patron. After that event he was cast into prison, and presently pronounced a mere layman, incapable of holding any living in the Church; and yet, as he argued before his lordship, he had preached seven years in the University of Cambridge, and had been "regularly ordained, by the laying on of the hands of the presbyters at Antwerp." Nor would the bishop ever grant him a license, always saying that he was no minister.[2]

No one doubts the honesty and scholarship of the sainted Keble. And he some-

[1] Strype's Life of Grindal. Perry's English Church History. Neal's History of the Puritans.

[2] Strype's Annals, vol. iii. Neal's Puritans (Harpers, 1871), i., 152.

where speaks of "the numbers who had been admitted to the ministry of the Church of England, with no better than Presbyterian ordination."

In the First Book of Discipline of the Scottish Presbyterians (Knox, Winram, Willox, Douglas, Row, and Spottiswoode, compilers), ordination was rejected as unnecessary and superfluous; and it was never practised by Knox and his co-adjutors. The election of "ministers" was vested solely in the people. On passing a satisfactory examination, the individual elected was to be introduced to his congregation by his brethren *without ordination or ceremony of any kind*—the "approbation of the people, and the declaration of the chief minister, that the person is appointed to serve," being expressly declared sufficient; for, according to the compilers, "albeit the Apostles used the imposition of hands, yet seeing the miracle is ceased, the using the ceremony we judge *not to be necessary.*" [1]

[1] Lawson's History of the Scottish Episcopal Church, vol. i., 45, 46, 246, 247.

By the influence of Andrew Melville it was inserted in the Second Book of Discipline (1579–1581), and the power of it invested in the presbyteries.

On the last day of February, 1596–97, among the fifty-two articles submitted to the famous Perth Assembly was this query: "Is he a lawful pastor who wanteth *impositionem manuum?*" And the decision was: "Imposition or laying on of hands is not essential and necessary, but ceremonial and indifferent, in admission of a pastor."

In 1598, at the admission of Mr. Robert Bruce as minister of Edinburgh, Mr. Robert Pont, a minister who had never been "ordained," appeared as a zealous advocate of *imposition;* which curious circumstance led the fanatical and anti-prelatical historian, David Calderwood, to say: "It is to be observed that this *imposition of hands*, whereabout this business was made, was holden for a ceremony unnecessary and indifferent in our Kirk."

An eminent Lutheran divine, professor, and historian has recently said that, in

Sweden, "every diocese is regarded as a co-ordinate part of the State Church; the whole being subordinate only to the king. Seven of these dioceses existed before the Reformation, five new dioceses were created in the seventeenth century. The consecration of a bishop is regarded as conveying no higher gifts than those belonging to every true preacher of the Word. In former times, by a special royal dispensation, but which was very rarely granted, ordinations were administered in an Episcopal vacancy by a provost; the rule, however, of exclusive ordination by bishops is now strictly enforced."[1] Elsewhere, writing of these non-episcopal ordinations, he says: "Arrangements were accordingly made for the ordination. The officiating ministers were Rudman, Björk, and Sandel, all of whom signed the ordination certificate." This was in 1701. "Twenty-four years afterward, when this was cited as a precedent, the four Swedish pastors disclaimed the authority to ordain, and explained the ordination of Falconer upon

[1] Vol. IV. of The American Church History Series (Rev. Professor Henry E. Jacobs, D.D.), pp. 77, 97, 101.

the ground that Rudman had been made, by the 'Archbishop of Sweden,' Suffragan or Vice-bishop." But such ordinations were not unusual, as our good Lutheran authority adds almost immediately: "It is interesting to note that, by a commission of the archbishop and consistory in Upsala of November 7, 1739, the two Swedish pastors in America, Dylander and Trauberg, were directed to ordain to the ministry William Malandir." It appears, too, that when John Eneberg, who had studied at Upsala, was to be admitted to the ministry, Svedberg, then bishop of Skara, commissioned the Rev. Mr. Norborg, the Swedish pastor in London, where Eneberg then (1729) was, to ordain him.

XX

EPISCOPAL VISITATIONS

"Where bishops were numerous and dioceses of small extent, it is probable that baptism was, as a rule, performed only in the bishop's church, and that confirmation, as a separate rite, existed only for those cases in which presbyters had baptized in an emergency. In some of the most ancient rituals, baptism, confirmation, and communion are successive stages in a single ceremony. But this had become impossible in the great country districts. The part of the baptismal rite which was ordinarily performed by presbyters and deacons was performed by them, without the presence of a bishop, in a "baptismal," or, as it would now be termed, a "parish" church. The part which was ordinarily performed by a bishop, and which in the West, though not in the East, had come to be considered an inalienable function of the episcopal office, was postponed until the bishop's annual visit."—*Hatch's Growth of Church Institutions.*

"In the Anglo-Saxon Church, the bishop was the sole minister of confirmation, which was regularly given after baptism. But as he could not always be present, he was careful in his annual visits to administer confirmation to those lately baptized."—*Lingard's Anglo-Saxon Church.*

"We strictly enjoin parish priests to cause children to be confirmed as soon as possible after baptism; and that they may not, through the negligence of their parents, remain any longer unconfirmed, we command that infants receive the sacrament of confirmation within three years after their birth."—*Cap.* III., *Synod of Exeter, under Peter Quivil, bishop of Exeter*, 1287.

CHAPTER XX

EPISCOPAL VISITATIONS

"And it came to pass, as Peter passed throughout all quarters, he came down also to the saints which dwelt at Lydda." [1]

"Paul said unto Barnabas, Let us go again and visit our brethren in every city where we have preached the word of the Lord, and see how they do. And he went through Syria and Cilicia, confirming the churches." [2]

"And after he had spent some time there (Antioch), he departed, and went over all the country of Galatia and Phrygia in order, strengthening all the disciples." [3]

"Now some are puffed up, as though I would not come to you. But I will come shortly, if the Lord will, and will know, not the speech of them which are puffed up, but the power." [4]

[1] Acts ix. 32. [2] Ibid. xv. 36, 41.
[3] Ibid. xviii. 23. [4] 1 Corinthians iv. 19.

"I will come unto you, when I shall pass through Macedonia." [1]

"Behold, the third time I am ready to come to you." [2]

"And from Miletus he sent to Ephesus, and called the elders of the church." [3]

"What thou seest, write in a book, and send it unto the seven churches which are in Asia." [4]

The council of Tarragona (516), held during the reign of Theodoric, king of Italy, and guardian of Amalric, king of Spain, at which ten bishops were present, appears to have been the first to enact a canon (VIII.) directing yearly visitations.

Annual.

The council of Lugo (569), held there by King Theodomir, ordered a new division of the dioceses in Gallicia, on the ground that they were too large to admit of a yearly visitation.

The council of Braga, held in June, 572, by Martin, the archbishop, twelve other prelates being present, which acknowledged

[1] 1 Corinthians xvi. 5. [2] 2 Corinthians xii. 14.
[3] Ibid. xx. 17. [4] The Revelation i. 11.

the four first ecumenical councils, but not the fifth, drew up ten canons, one of which implied that bishops should inspect their respective dioceses yearly.

The fourth council of Toledo (633), a national council, to which sixty-six archbishops and bishops came from all parts of Spain, and at which Isidore of Seville presided, enacted a canon (XXXVI.), ordering every bishop to visit annually every parish in his diocese.

Across the sea, it was the council of Cloves-Hoo, held in the year 747, in the presence of Ethelbald, king of the Mercians, Archbishop Cuthbert, of Canterbury, presiding, eleven bishops and several priests in attendance, which first ordered (canon III.) annual episcopal visitations for the Anglo-Saxon Church. Two years previously the German Boniface had written to Cuthbert, saying: "We have determined in our synod that every presbyter, during the season of Lent, shall annually give an account of his ministry to his bishop, *who shall every year carefully make a circuit of his parish* (diocese)."

As to the objects of these annual visitations, the canon (VIII.) of the council of Tarragona (516) on the subject, ordered them that the bishop might provide for the repair of the out-worn or ill-used churches of his diocese.

Objects.

According to the third council of Braga (572), the bishop was to remain in each parish two days. The first was to be devoted to the clergy; on the second, he was to assemble the people, and instruct them in the principles of the Faith.

The fourth council of Toledo (633) laid it upon the bishops, in their yearly circuit, to keep the church fabrics in good repair; and to instruct and discipline the clergy.

The Anglo-Saxon council of Cloves-Hoo (747), ordered the bishop, as he went his annual rounds, to call the people of every condition together to convenient places, and to teach plainly, and forbid them all pagan and superstitious observances, etc.

Under Charlemagne, the bishops, to whom he had granted spiritual jurisdiction, investing them with the offices of chan-

cellor and first councillor, nominating them his *missi*, were further required to make annual visitations (SENDS) for the trial of sins or misdemeanors in every parish.

Giesler[1] says that in the IXth century the bishop was also under instructions to see that every parish had a Roman Penitential, edited by Archbishop Theodore (Primate of England, 669–690), or by the venerable Beda, presbyter.

The national council of Westminster, held in 1200 by Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, states in one of its fifteen canons, that "the object of visitation is to see to what concerns the cure of souls; and also that every church hath a silver chalice, sacerdotal vestments, proper books, and other utensils."

The first canonical reference to confirmation in connection with episcopal visitations, is to be found in the acts of the council (743) of Leptina.

The capitularies of Charlemagne also provide for confirmation at the time of the bishop's annual visit.

[1] Eccles. Hist., ii., 440.

The third council of Braga (572) fixed the legal fee for a visitation at two solidi—

Accessories.

"the honorary payment due the office." This action was aimed at those bishops who were in the habit of assessing the parishes, on occasion of their visitations, for the increase of personal income, the repair of their cathedrals, etc.; and parishes were writhing under the burden.

The seventh council of Toledo (646) enacted, amongst other precautions to prevent extortion, that no bishop shall remain in any parish during his visitation more than a single day; and that he shall not demand an unreasonable number of horses for his conveyance. Should he prolong his stay beyond the time specified, it must be at his own cost.

The second council of Chalons, held (813) by order of Charlemagne for the reformation of the Church and clergy, forbade bishops to exact anything, on their visitations, for the lamps and oil of their own churches; cancelled the annual tax of twelve or fourteen *denarii* they had come to demand; and declared that they must

not put their clergy to any expense during their circuit.

According to a capitulary of Louis the Pious (819), the bishop was to receive as his procuration (the fee due at a visitation) "forty loaves, one pig, three young porkers, three fowls, fifteen eggs, three tuns of ale, and four sacks of oats for his horses."

The second council of Ticene (855) again limited the quantity of bread and meat which the bishop might demand at the time of his visitation.

The fourth council of Valence, held January 8, 855, by order of the Emperor Lothaire, fourteen bishops, with the metropolitans, attending from the provinces of Lyons, Vienne, and Arles, passed a canon (XXII.), excusing parishes not visited by the bishop that year, from paying the episcopal assessment: no visitation, no visitation fee.

A capitulary of Charles the Bald (*d.* 877) enacts that bishops must choose the richer parishes for their visitations; that four parishes might unite to bear the expenses of a visitation; and that a bishop must look after his own entertainment,

should he visit a parish more than once a year.

The council of Lateran, held March 2, 1179 (falsely styled by the Latins the eleventh ecumenical, no bishops being present from the orthodox eastern Churches), Alexander III., presiding over two hundred and eighty bishops connected with the see of Rome, limited the retinue of an archbishop to fifty horses; a bishop's, to thirty; and a cardinal's, to twenty-five.

Across the sea, the retinue of a bishop, in his parochial visitations, was limited to the number of twenty or thirty attendants, with their horses, which were to be entertained for a night and a day; but in later times a composition in money was received. Nor could a bishop claim more than one procuration a day, however many churches he might visit between midnight and midnight.[1]

The national council of Westminster (1200) passed a canon, containing this provision: That in visiting parishes, an archbishop's train exceed not the number of

[1] Hart's Ecclesiastical Records, based on Wilkins's *Concilia.*

forty or fifty horsemen; nor a bishop's twenty or thirty; also that they make not their progress with hunting dogs or birds (*hawks*).

In Ireland, the visitation of a district was originally the function of the abbot, who was generally the ecclesiastical superior of the bishop; and of the abbots of Melrose, Kelso, Jedburgh, and Dryburgh, in Scotia Nova, it is said that "they ranked with the foremost prelates in the land, enjoyed the privileges of the mitre and crozier, were entitled to sit in the national councils, and commissioned by the sovereign to serve their country in embassies, and entrusted with the weightiest interests of the State."[1]

The learned editor of "Primate Colton's Visitation" (XIVth century) enumerates a number of visitations made by the abbots of that day. In 1150, for instance, the successor of Patrick made a visitation of Tir-Eoghain, and obtained full tribute of cows—a cow from every house of a biatach and freeman, a horse from every chieftain, and twenty cows from the king himself.

[1] Stewart's Church of Scotland, pp. 75, 76.

In 1153, the visitation of Dal-Cairbre and Ui Eathach Uladh was made by Flaithbheartach Ua Brolchain, a successor of Columcille, and he received a horse from every chieftain, a sheep from every hearth, a screaball, a horse, and five cows from the Lord Ua Duinnsleibhe, and an ounce of gold from his wife. Three years previously the same abbot, with the unpronounceable name, had made the visitation of Eoghain, when he obtained a horse from every chieftain, a cow from every two biataches, a cow from every three freeholders, a cow from every four villains, twenty cows from the king, and a gold ring of five ounces, his horse, and his battle-dress from Muîrcheartach. And in 1161, when he made a visitation of Osraighe, the tribute due to him was seven score oxen; but he chose, as a substitute, four hundred and twenty ounces of pure silver.

In the diocese of Raphoe, in the xiiith century, the practice was that the bishop "laie the first night upon the herenagh, the second night upon the viccar, and the third night upon the parson; and that if he staid but one night in the parish, the

parson, viccar, and herenagh did contribute equally toward that charge." [1]

The usage of Caithness, in the same century, was that for every score of cows a "span" of butter should be paid to the bishop. Bishop Adam, who was consecrated 1214, exacted the same quantity from fifteen cows; then from twelve; and finally, for every ten. As a consequence, he was seized by an infuriated crowd, thrust into a hut, and there burned to death along with his prison-house.[2]

Cap. vii. of the "Constitutions of Archbishop Stratford" (1342), runs: "Whereas archdeacons and other superior ordinaries exact at their visitations excessive and unlawful procurations, and often, by a fraudulent contrivance, come on the night before the visitation day, and lodge in the houses of the rectors and vicars, to their great cost, with their cumbersome retinues and dogs for hunting; and on the morrow, when the visitation is ended, extort a whole procuration in money, as if they had

[1] Primate Colton's Visitation, p. 118.

[2] Cosmo Innes's Sketches of Early Scottish History, pp. 77, 78.

not received any in victuals; we therefore strictly forbid anything of the kind done in future."[1]

The Irish Parliament, held at Trim, 1447, enacted that no equestrian, beneath the rank of knight or bishop, should use a gilt bridle, or any other gilt harness. On the death of a suffragan, the archbishop of Armagh claimed the best horse, cup, and ring of the deceased prelate.[2]

In the XVIIth century, as well as earlier, it was customary for the churchwardens to make a present to the bishop when he visited their parish. In the register of S. James's, Bristol, England, these items are set down:

1626. For a sugar loaf that was given my lord at Christmas.....	15*s.* 0*d.*
1629. Paid for a sugar loaf for the Lord Bishop (Robert Wright).....	15*s.* 10*d.*
1634. Paid for two sugar loaves bestowed on the Lord Bishop.....	£1 6*s.* 0*d.*

Let us not say that the archbishop of Salzburg, in the XVIIIth century, was followed by so great a train on his visitations;

[1] Hart's Ecclesiastical Records, p. 113.
[2] Harris's Ware, i., 185, 253.

but it is on record that, in 1767, his retinue consisted of a high steward; a high chamberlain; a marshal; a master of the stables; a master of the chase; a master of the body guard; a master of the kitchen; a chancellor; a hereditary grand marshal; a hereditary grand chamberlain; a hereditary grand butler, and hereditary grand steward (counts every one of them); twenty-four councillors; a consistory court; a court of justice; a military cabinet; and a cabinet of finance.

Going to Frankfort, to the coronation of the emperor (1790), the archbishop of Mainz had a train of fifteen hundred attendants, among whom were a "capon-maker and a child's nurse."

The great Athanasius, the "Father of Orthodoxy," was accompanied on his visitations by a retinue of priests, deacons, and laymen. Confirmations.

Martin of Tours, a soldier in his youth, went around his diocese (375–400) clad in ragged dress, and on an ass.

Aidan, monk of Iona, who became bishop of the Northumbrians in 635, after es-

tablishing his see at Lindisfarne (to which the name of Holy Isle was given in after-times), went through his diocese (the whole of Bernicia and Deira) on foot; and "whomsoever he met on the way, whether rich or poor, he stopped to converse with them; if they were still heathens, he exhorted them to receive the sacrament of faith; if they were believers, he strengthened them in their belief, and encouraged them to the performance of almsgiving and all good works." [1] He also had a church and a chamber, near Bamborough, where he often dwelt for a time, and used to go out thence in all directions, preaching.

The humble-minded Chad, twice consecrated to the bishopric—to the see of York, and, later (669), by the Italian archbishop of Canterbury, Theodore, as bishop of the Mercians, was also wont, as the same Bede says, "to travel about, not on horseback, but after the manner of the apostles, on foot, to preach the gospel in the towns, the open country, cottages, villages, and castles," endeavoring to know

[1] Bede: Ecclesiastical History, iii., 5.

his people personally in their own resorts and haunts."

Cuthbert, another bishop of Lindisfarne, a keeper of sheep in his youth, a boy without his equal in all sports and athletic exercises, yet so impressed with the realities of the unseen world that he entered the monastery of Melrose at the age of fifteen, penetrated to the remotest and poorest villages on foot, scaled the ruggedest mountains in search of forgotten hamlets, and, wherever he went over his vast diocese, to administer confirmation[1] to converts, was ever the monk and missionary, sleeping under a tent, resting on boughs, advising with the woman who had devoted herself to him while he was but a shepherd lad, at home in the palaces of queens, the confidant of peasants and princesses.

Anskar, the apostle of Sweden, the brave

[1] "No record of the manner in which confirmation was administered has come down to us. If the practice of S. Cuthbert was the same as that of S Aidan and the disciples of Columba, this sacred rite, in the ancient Scottish Church, followed immediately after Baptism, and was conferred by the imposition of the hands of the bishop, and by anointing with consecrating chrism."—Grub's Eccles. Hist. of Scotland., I., 148.

monk who volunteered (826) to undertake the evangelization of Denmark, whose ferocious king, Harold, had just been baptized with great pomp, would never sit down to dinner, as he made the visitation of his diocese, "without first ordering some of the poor to be brought in;" and sometimes he would wash their feet, and distribute bread and meat among them.

Malachy, to whom the see of Armagh was left (1129) by will, but who did not enter on possession until the lay archbishop (1134) was frightened out of it, restored the sacrament of confirmation, which had been neglected through eight administrations at least, preached in the streets of the cities subject to him, and, attended by his faithful monks, visited, on foot, all the smaller towns and villages of his diocese of Connor, where he was bishop many years before his promotion to the primacy. This is the saint and intimate of whom Bernard of Clairvaux wrote so lovingly and well.

A later archbishop of Armagh, Gelasius, who died in 1173, took a white cow with him on his visitations, for he was weak in-

ternally, and "milk formed his only sustenance."[1]

Of Reginald, bishop of Man, who died about 1225, it is on record that he made his episcopal visitations throughout the other islands of his diocese as far as Lewis; but the manner of them is not a matter of history.[2]

Thomas de Cantilupe, the son of Baron William Cantilupe, seneschal of Henry III., the possessor, later, of four papal bulls, granting him permission to hold any number of benefices in England simultaneously; then chancellor of university of Oxford (1262); then chancellor of England (1265); then chaplain of the bishop of Rome; then, at one and the same time, precentor and canon of York, archdeacon of Stafford, canon of Lichfield, canon of London, canon of Hereford, and holder of

[1] Girald. Camb. Experg. Hib., c. 34. Brompton, the abbot of an English Cistercian monastery (XIVth century), says that in his day some of the wealthy Irish were wont to baptize their children in milk. In attestation whereof is the testimony of Benedict of Peterborough, a contemporary: "Mos enim prius erat per diversa loca Hiberniæ quod statim cum puer nasceretur. . . . si divitis fuerit filius, ter mergeretur in lacte."—Gest. Hon., ii., 28.

[2] Grub's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, i., 322.

the livings of Doderholt, Hampton, Aston, Wintringham, Deighton, Rippel, and Sunterfield; and (1275), at the age of fifty-six, bishop of Hereford; so very modest that he would not allow his sisters to kiss him; such a moderate eater, that he would send away the dainty dishes after smelling them, although he "liked lampreys;"—rode through his diocese with his stole in due place under his cloak, and whenever he saw a child along the road, if he ascertained it was unconfirmed, he jumped off his horse and administered the sacrament on the spot.

James Kennedy,[1] grandson of Robert III., bishop of St. Andrews, who was translated to Paradise in the year 1466, "visited every kirk in his diocese four times a year, and preached to the said parishioners the word of God, and inquired of them if they were duly instructed by their parsons and vicars, and if the poor were sustained, and the youth brought up and learned according to the order that was taken in the Kirk of God."

Charles Borromeo, who, at the age of

[1] Lindsay's Chronicles of Scotland.

twenty-one, was invested by Pius IV. with the office of protonotary and a cardinal's hat, and the next year (1560) put in possession of the see of Milan, visited the highest mountain-hamlets and the most secluded villages, sitting with stupid little children to teach them the *Pater noster* and the *Ave*, distributing alms to the peasantry, and listening with unwearied patience to the complaints of ignorant and ailing women.

Oliver Plunket, one of the Roman titular bishops of Ireland (1669), reported to the Propaganda that within four years he had administered the sacrament of confirmation to 48,655 persons. John Falconar, one of the "exauctorate" bishops of the Scottish Church, a bishop-at-large, not consecrated (1709) to any see,[1] was foremost among the prelates of his day in restoring the rite of confirmation, which can hardly be said to have been used since the overthrow of the (Italian) hierarchy in the XVIth century (*circ.* 1560).[2]

[1] See Chapter on *The College Bishops.*

[2] Grub's Ecclesiastical History of Scotland, iii., 369. But Burnet says that Leighton, who died 1684, went around continually every year, while bishop of Dumblane,

Archbishop King, writing to the bishop of Clogher, under date October 4, 1720, paused to remark, as if it were some new thing: "I have gone through my diocese and confirmed in twenty country churches, in each of which I made a discourse."

The act of 1746, which was aimed at the destruction of the Scottish Church, and recognized only letters of orders from Irish or English bishops, soon brought into Edinburgh and elsewhere numbers of clergymen ordained outside of Scotland; and it is stated that the celebrated Bishop Pococke, when wandering through those parts on an antiquarian tour, administered, with or without warrant from the "exauctorate" Scottish bishops, the rite of confirmation to congregations long deprived of the advantages consequent on an episcopal visitation.[1]

preaching and catechizing from parish to parish. Is it possible that confirmation was not included?

[1] In going systematically round his diocese last year (1894), the archbishop of York penetrated into a parish where the countenance of no prelate had been seen since the fourteenth century. Archbishop Maclagan's remote predecessor went there to investigate the misdeeds of a female parishioner charged with having buried her cow with Christian rites and covered its remains with the parish pall.

XXI

THE OLD-TIME BISHOP

CHAPTER XXI

THE OLD-TIME BISHOP

Justinian I., Roman emperor (527–565), who eventually lapsed into heresy (just as his church of S. Sophia in Constantinople, once the most magnificent cathedral in Christendom, has been converted into a Turkish mosque), entrusted the bishops with civil jurisdiction over monks and nuns, as well as over the clergy; gave them the privilege of legislating against gaming and prostitution, etc.; allowed them to interfere where justice was refused or miscarried; constituted them judges of magistrates in certain contingencies; conveyed to them the right of concurrence in the choice of city officials, and a joint oversight of the administration of the city funds, and the maintenance of public establishments.[1]

A Secular Magnate.

[1] Giesler's Ecclesiastical History, ii., 118.

In the VIIth century, bishops were often employed in affairs of state, and oversight of the entire administration of justice was committed to them, their spiritual punishments including civil disadvantages.[1]

From Charlemagne's time all bishops were obliged to employ advocates for transacting the secular affairs incompatible with their sacred calling.[2] They were also made the emperor's *missi*, empowered to visit the parishes and try cases involving sins or misdemeanors.

In the Xth century the bishops of the Frankish empire were the possessors of almost royal prerogatives. Lewis the Infant conferred on the bishop of Treves 902) and on the bishop of Tongern (908) the privileges of counts. Henry I. bestowed on the bishop of Toul (928) the dukedom and dignity of the city of Toul, the first instance of this sort. Otto I. invested his brother Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, with the dukedom of Lorrain.[3]

[1] Giesler's Ecclesiastical History, ii., 156.
[2] Ibid., ii., 255. [3] Ibid., ii., 374.

Bishops were also now, as vassals of the king, expected to follow the court to war, and even to lead their troops in person. Thus Luitbert, archbishop of Mainz, fought against the Normans (872); against the Sorabes (874); and again (883 and 885) against the Normans. Bishop Arno of Würzburg took the field (892) against the Slavonians. Henry, bishop of Augsburg, with many other bishops as allies, attacked (982) the Saracens. Michael, bishop of Ratisbon, accompanied the Bavarian princes against Hungary.[1]

Across the channel, the bishops of the sea-girt isles were also acquiring the privileges connected with markets, coinage, tolls, and feudal judicature.

The Council of Gratlea,[2] held about 925 by King Ethelstan, Wulfhelm, archbishop of Canterbury, and other prelates, being present, passed twenty-six laws, seven of them ecclesiastical, and among them one which secured the right of mintage to the

[1] Giesler's Ecclesiastical History, ii., 377. Also see Chapter XV. on *Martial Prelates*, in BISHOPS' BLUE BOOK.

[2] Hart's Ecclesiastical Records, 63.

primate[1] and to the bishop of Rochester. And it was so that, some time before the Conquest, the weregild of the primate was, by Kentish law, greater than that of the king. On one occasion the signature of the archbishop (Janbyrht) was placed before that of King Offa.

By the laws of Edward the Confessor (1052) confirmed subsequently by William I., all archbishops, bishops, earls, barons, and all who have (*the right of*) *sac, soc, thol, theam,* and *infangthefe,* were to have their soldiers and other retainers under their own *friburgh.* "Let them also have their esquires and other servants under their *friburgh.*"

In the XIIth century (1175–78) King William the Lion granted a charter to a Scottish bishop, which gave him the privilege of having a burgh at Glasgow, with a market on Thursday.[2] And the grant to

[1] A charter of Henry VI. (1446) confirmed this ancient privilege of the archbishops of Canterbury, in these words: "*Tres monetarios cum tribus cuneis ad monetam fabricandum in civitate cantuarien, perpetuò habendos.*"

[2] In the year 1450, the bishop of Glasgow had obtained a jurisdiction of regality, and the city continued subject to

Bishop Jocelin ran thus: "*Ut burgum habeant (episcopi) apud Glasgow cum fore die Jovis.*"

The archbishops of St. Andrews were "Lords of Regality" over three extensive districts—certain Parishes, Superiorities, and Feu-farms, over which they exercised a temporal jurisdiction; the bailies representing them in their absence.[1]

Before the Reformation, this Scottish archbishop was the first peer of the kingdom, and ranked next to the royal family. He crowned the sovereign. He was the constant chancellor of the university, and could confer degrees *ad lib.* His titles were: "Lord of the Lordship and Priory of St. Andrews; Lord Keig and Monymusk; Lord Kirkliston; Lord Dairsey; Lord Monimail; Lord Scotscraig; Lord Fyningham; Lord Byrehills; Lord Polduff; Lord Bishopshire; Lord Muckhart-

the bishop until the Reformation; but it was not a royal burgh legally, till the charter of Charles I.—Cosmo Innes's Sketches of Early Scotch History, 120.

[1] Gordon's Scotichronicon (1867) i., 103: "The Cocket Seal had on one side the King's Arms, with his circumscription, and on the other St. Andrew bearing his Cross with circumscription, SIGILLUM COQUETAE STI ANDREÆ."

shire; Lord Stow; Lord Angus; Lord Little Preston." With his Regalities, he was supreme judge in almost all civil and criminal cases. "He had a right, within his bounds, to appropriate all escheats of goods and forfeited property, to coin money, and levy custom-house duties on wood, hides, skins, flesh, fish, and other goods within the city and territory of St. Andrews; and also to the whole of the *cocket-duty*, part of which had before been received by the king. The power and the privilege of the *Admiralty* belonged to the archbishop, who had the power of issuing and directing *cockets*, *i.e.*, safe-conducts or passes to all ships outward-bound from ports within his jurisdiction." "Every bishop, on being admitted to his rights, was obliged to swear allegiance to him as well as to the king; and to pay him a small sum annually under the name of *homage-money*." The revenues of the see in the XIIIth century amounted to £40,000, at present quotations.[1]

In the XVth century the archbishop of Dublin had the rights of a prince pal-

[1] Gordon's Scotichronicon, i., 103, 4.

atine — those of a king in his palace (*palatium*) in his own jurisdiction: all writs were in his name, and offences were said to be against his peace; he could also pardon treasons, murders, and felonies.[1]

In the year 1614,[2] a crown charter "confirmed and mortified" lands in certain of the island parishes of the see of Orkney to the bishop thereof and his successors; and "the whole lands, whether of old called king's lands, bishop's lands, udal lands, or kirk lands, were conveyed in superiority, modified in as far as udallers were concerned, to the bishop, together with the holmes, skerries, and all parts and pertinents belonging to the lands." "A right and jurisdiction of sheriff and bailie was vested in the bishops within THE BISHOPRIC, with the authority of commissary over Orkney and Zetland; and power being given to appoint sheriffs and bailies, the inhabitants of THE BISHOPRIC were ex-

[1] For other *Bishoprics Palatine* see Chapter XVI. in BISHOPS' BLUE BOOK.

[2] Notes on Orkney and Zetland, by Alexander Peterkin, Esq., vol. i., pp. 138, 139, 140, quoted in Lawson's Scottish Church, vol. i., 353.

empted from the jurisdiction of the earldom functionaries."[1]

Has a prison.

In the "good old days" every ordinary was expected to have and to hold a *decanicum* (prison), for the wholesome discipline of his clergy and of the laymen of his diocese who could read. The usual test of the layman's learning was the *Miserere mei Deus*, which, as it transferred him, on demand, to the custody of the bishop, thus saving him from the penalty of the civil law, was called *the neck*

[1] As a survival of the days when the bishop was also the civil ruler of the territories belonging to his see it may not be amiss to call attention to the fact that the bishop of Urgel issued a proclamation last year (1894) in which he claimed to be the sole ruler of Andorra, and refuses to acknowledge the suzerainty of France. Great excitement prevails in Andorra, as, from time immemorial, republican government administrated that country. By dint of much searching, our readers will discover this State among the Pyrenees Mountains between France and Spain. Its area is exactly four hundred and fifty square miles, and this difficulty prevents the militia of the little country from practising with a Krupp gun recently purchased by the government—the shell would fall into foreign territory. Andorra is, with the sister republic S. Marino and the principalities Liechtenstein and Monaco, a survival of those times when Europe was divided into thousands of small, sovereign States.

verse. If he could read that, the ordinary pronounced the words *Legit ut clericus;* and the prisoner was delivered over to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.[1]

Nestorius, consecrated to the patriarchate of Constantinople, April 10, 428, and deposed by the council of Ephesus (431), by the vote of two hundred bishops, because he refused to admit that Mary was "Mother of God," or, as Cyril, his antagonist and rival, would put it, because he "resolved Christ into two Sons, to a man filled with God," was also accused to the emperor, Theodosius II., by Basil, the deacon, as one who had treated him and his friends with cruel indignity. "They had been stripped and beaten," he complained, "and led off half naked to the *decanicum*, where they were detained without food, and again beaten by the *decani*"—the jailers.

That the sacristy or other ecclesiastical annex sometimes served the purpose of a prison, may be inferred from the letter of Gregory III., bishop of Rome (731–741), to the emperor, Leo III., in which he says that, according to the custom of the Church,

[1] Burns's Ecclesiastical Law (*Benefit of Clergy*).

an offending clerk, after the bishop has hung round his neck the cross and a copy of the gospels, is confined in one of the treasuries or *catechumena* of the sacred edifice.

Theodore of the Studium, the champion of image-worship, the stern opponent of Byzantine Erastianism, the unwearied protester against the persecution of heretics, was imprisoned eighteen months, in a dark subterranean dungeon, by the archbishop of Smyrna, who, at last, in 819, departed for Constantinople to obtain the emperor's permission to have either the head or the tongue of the heroic sufferer cut off.

A provincial council in Scotland, held 1225, decreed (cap. XXVIII.) that "clerks of every degree shall be protected by the Church, until, from the enormity of their crimes, justice requires that they be degraded from their orders; and, that their evil deeds may not go unpunished, let such clerks, upon conviction, be closely confined in the prison of the diocesan, which every bishop ought to have, there to be kept upon the bread of sorrow and the water of tribulation."

The constitutions of Archbishop Boniface, at Lambeth, 1261, provide "that every bishop have in his diocese *one* or two prisons, that provision may be made for the secure custody of clerks convicted of crimes."

Among the articles of complaint brought by the bishops against King Edward I., 1285, is one (art. IV.) "that excommunicated persons shall not be liberated from prison without the consent of the bishop." To which the royal answer was: "Granted, unless the bishop should detain them unjustly."

A few years previously (1274), the council of Saltzburg, held by Frederick, archbishop and legate, had passed two canons (XII., XIII.), ordering bishops to send to prison those priests who, although excommunicated or suspended, persisted in officiating at the holy office.

By 3 Edward I., c. 2, it was ordered that any clerk, arraigned for felony and claimed by his ordinary, should be consigned to the *decanicum*, and held there in safe custody till he had submitted to canonical purgation.

By 1 Henry VII., c. 4, a priest or other clerk guilty of fornication, adultery, or incest might be committed to prison by his ordinary, where he should abide for a time proportionate to the quality of his offence.

As late as the xvth century there was a bishop's prison at Termonfeckan near Drogheda; and there the archbishop placed one Marcello, a papal emissary, convicted of loose living.

The archbishop of Dublin, who had the rights of a prince palatine within his liberties, could also boast of a gallows for the execution of criminals, within one mile of his palace, at a place called HAROLD'S-CROSS."[1]

A Baron.

The bishops sat in the Witenagemot (the national council of Anglo-Saxon days), and also in the shire moots. Under William the Conqueror they were numbered among the "barons"—*freemen* who held lands directly of him. At a parliament held at Northampton, during the reign of Henry II. (1154–1189), the bishops thus challenged their peers:

[1] Harris's Ware, i. 300.

non sedemus hic episcopi, sed barones; nos barones, vos barones; pares hic sumus. John Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, fallen under the displeasure of Edward III. (1327–1377), and denied entrance into the House of Peers, made protest that he was *primus par regni*—"the first peer of the realm," and therefore, was not to be excluded from his place and suffrage.[1]

In the Scotch cathedrals the bishop sat in the chapter as a simple canon, without pre-eminence of rank or authority.[2]

[1] Dr. Heylin argued, as against Fuller, that the English bishops had their vote in Parliament as "a third Estate," and not as temporal barons. See Fuller's Appeal of Injured Innocence, iii. 621.

The bishop of Sodor and Man has no place in Parliament, not holding *per integram Baroniam*—"by an entire barony."

"The archbishops of Canterbury and York, and the bishops of London, Durham, and Winchester, always sit as lords spiritual in the House of Lords; and of the other bishops twenty-one are summoned to Parliament in order of seniority of creation. By an Act of 1848, it was enacted that the number of lords spiritual should not be increased by the creation of new bishoprics."—Mandell Creighton, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, University of Cambridge.

[2] Cosmo Innes's Sketches of Early Scotch History, 81.

An Abbot.

According to the Rev. Mandell Creighton, professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Cambridge, half of the English cathedrals were or early became Benedictine abbeys, of which the canons were monks, and the bishop the abbot. The bishop of Norwich is the only episcopal abbot in England today, his title, in legal documents being, "Bishop of Norwich and Abbot of St. Bennet's-at-Holme," the ruins of which, built 1020, on the site of an older hermitage, by order of Canute, still remain. It was annexed to the bishopric of Norwich in 1535 ; and as all the abbots had a seat in the House of Lords, the present bishop of Norwich has a double claim to his seat.

The Parliament which met at Westminster, April 28, 1540, was the last Parliament of England in which the abbots (and there were twenty present) sat side by side with the bishops and other lords in the House of Peers. It was this Parliament that dissolved 645 monasteries, of which 27 were represented in the Upper House in the persons of their "mitred abbots ;" for, according to a dispensation of the archbishop

of Canterbury, "by special privilege of the pope," the abbots of exempt monasteries were entitled to wear the mitre, ring, sandals, gloves, dalmatic, tunic, and other episcopal vestments.[1]

His Perquisites.

"The archbishop (of Canterbury) shall have the best nag of the bishop of Rochester when he dies, and his kennel of hunting dogs."[2] This was in the xth century.

In the province of Cashel the archbishop claimed the best ring, cup, chain, or breviary, of a suffragan bishop upon his decease.[3]

In England each archbishop had a right of *option*, *i.e.*, he could claim some piece of preferment in the diocese of every suffragan bishop whom he consecrated. According to Burns (*Ecclesiastical Law*, i., 197) this important privilege is still continued, and is even disposable of by will. The archbishop also claimed a *heriot* on the death of any of his suffragans.

[1] Hart's Ecclesiastical Records, 166.

[2] Quoted in Hart's Ecclesiastical Records, as occurring in the *Jura Eccles. Cant.*, A. S., vol. i., 88.

[3] Wilkin's *Concilia*, iii., 566, can. 78.

As appears from a letter of Archbishop Winchelsey (1310), the primate claimed as his perquisite the episcopal ring of every deceased bishop.

On the death of Nicholas Bullingham, bishop of Worcester (1577), Dr. Yate, the vicar-general of Archbishop Grindal, made demand on Mrs. Bullingham for all the seals of the deceased prelate, and his best ring excepting one; all of which were surrendered to him whose due they were.[1]

His Vestments.

In the ancient English Church the vestments of a bishop included sandals (as ornaments for the feet since the VIIIth century), an amyt (of fine white linen, covering the head and shoulders, crossing over the breast, and fastened with two strings to the girdle), an alb (a long white tunic, with tight sleeves, not open in front, with collars and cuffs often richly embroidered), a girdle, a succingulum (an ornamental addition to the girdle, double, and hanging down upon

[1] Collier's Ecclesiastical History of Great Britain, Bk. vi., Part ii.

For his retinue, see chapter on *Ecclesiastical Visitations*.

the left side), a stole, a tunicle (or *subtile*, the subdeacon's vestment), a dalmatic (the deacon's vestment, cut at each side about half-way up to the arm, fringed, etc.), a chasuble (or *casula*, the principal mass vestment, anciently circular, with a hole in the centre for the head), a maniple (or *sudarium*, an oblong piece of embroidered silk, of the same color as the chasuble of the day, folded double, passed over the left wrist, or held, according to Anglo-Saxon usage, in the hand), a mitre (originally plain, but with two horns since the XIth century—signifying a knowledge of the two Testaments; of three varieties: The *pretiosa*, of gold, silver and jewels; the *aurifrigiata*, of silk, embroidered with gold thread and pearls; the *simplex*, of plain white damask or linen, with red silk infulæ or pendants hanging from it) a pastoral staff (curved, in distinction from the pope's *pedum rectum*), gloves (said, by Latin ecclesiastics, to be of apostolic (!) origin, and a ring (symbol of the spiritual wedlock between the bishop and the Church). On solemn occasions a cope was worn; the rochette (a tunic of fine linen or lace, falling

below the knees, with or without sleeves) and Mozetta (a tippet, cape, or pelerine, with a hood appended sometimes) rather belonged to his civil costume. Archbishops bore a cross staff, instead of the pastoral crook, and their distinctive vestment was the pall (*pallium*, a narrow vestment of white wool with purple crosses worked on it, covering the shoulders over the chasuble, and pendent in front); although in the Greek and Russian churches it is also worn by bishops.

According to the canons enacted by the provincial councils of Perth (1242, 1268), the bishops, at the opening of their synods, were to be "clad in albs and copes thrown around the shoulders, with mitres, and bearing in their hands pastoral staffs." An earlier Scottish council (1225) had ordained on the same subject: "Let the bishops be first vested in their albes, amyts, festal copes, mitres, and gloves, having their pastoral staves in their hands."

The only distinctive vestment that Thomas of Villanova, archbishop of Valencia, would wear was a silk instead of a

dirty, old woollen cap; and this bit of head gear he exhibited everywhere, saying: "Behold my episcopal dignity! In order that I may be esteemed an archbishop, my worthy canons have forced me to wear this." Thomas belonged to the order of Augustinian hermits (1518); and it is said that the union of his soul with God was so close that he fell into raptures at his prayers, and that after the sacrifice of the mass his face shone like that of Moses. "Vowed to poverty," he went about his diocese dressed like a pauper.

The formal fraction of the pastoral staff was equivalent to deprivation, as we learn from Spelman, who bears record that, in the year 1052, "Pope Leo held a synod at Verzelay; at which Ulf, bishop of Dorchester was present, and *his episcopal staff would certainly have been broken*, had he not paid a large sum of money; for he knew not his office as a bishop ought." It was in a later council (London, 1075), held under Lanfranc, that Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, was commanded by the archbishop to resign his token of jurisdiction, as being illiterate and unworthy of the

episcopal office; but with noble scorn he refused to surrender it to any save to him from whom he had received it—to Edward the Confessor, who had laid the burden on him, and who was now dead.[1]

Jocelin, the Cistercian monk of Furness, in the XIIth century, dwells, in his "Life of St. Patrick," on the *Bachall Isa*, or the staff of Jesus, which was given to the apostle of Ireland by a hermit in the Tuscan sea, who said that he had received it one night from a stranger, whom he discovered, in the morning, to be no less a personage than the Son of Mary; and, without this crozier, no prelate thought himself enthroned in Armagh, or was held to be the true successor of St. Patrick. Battles were fought for its possession; intrigue and bribes were not left untried. After the Conquest, it was frequently used for the administration of oaths. But the reforming zeal of George Browne, archbishop of Dublin, treated it as *Nehushtan*, and it was publicly burnt in 1538 as an instrument of superstition.

[1] For a graphic description of this scene see S. Baring-Gould's "Lives of the Saints," 19 January.

From the VIth to the XIIIth century it was customary to compel an accused person, who had not cleared himself by oath or compurgation, to make a direct appeal to the judgment of God, supernatural intervention being expected to attest his guilt or innocence.[1] His trial of Ordeals.

Among the ordeals (German *Urtheil*, judgment) was the *judicium crucis*, in which both parties raised their arms until the body represented the figure of a cross, and he was held to be in the wrong whose arms fell first. A prelate, Herchenrad, bishop of Paris (771), once had recourse to this test in a dispute with some monks, and was victorious.

Peter Mediabardi, the new bishop of Florence, having been accused of purchasing his bishopric, the clergy and populace of the city, determined to prove the charge by the *ordeal of fire*, elected a monk named Peter to walk through the middle of the two burning piles (an arm's width apart),

[1] Southey (Progress and Prospects of Society, vol. i., 10) thinks that these appeals to heaven may have been answered at times.

who (having prayed this prayer: "Lord Jesus Christ, the true light of all that believe, I beseech Thy clemency, that if Peter of Pavia, now called bishop of Florence, has obtained the episcopal throne by means of money, which is the heresy of simony, Thou wilt assist me in this terrible ordeal, and save me from being burned by the fire, as of old Thou didst preserve the three children in the midst of the burning fiery furnace") stepped boldly forth between the flaming pyres, and came out on the further side uninjured, even his linen alb, his silken stole, and maniple not scorched. Seven years later (1074) Gregory VII., recognizing the worth of his services, made him cardinal bishop of Albano.

Among the retainers of Richard de Swinfield, bishop of Hereford, was one Thomas de Bruges, his champion, "who received an annual salary that he might fight in the prelate's name on occasion of any lawsuit which might be terminated by *judicial duel*," which, in the bishop's case, did not result in the death of the vanquished, but was merely a combat (*cum fuste et scuto*) with

staff and shield.[1] In the year 1284, a trial by battle was waged in a writ of right for a disputed manor, between the champion of the bishop of Ossory and the champion of his competitor.[2] In the twenty-ninth year of Edward III. (1327–1377) a duel also took place by means of champions between the bishop of Salisbury and the earl of Salisbury; and when the judges, in execution of the law, came to examine the dress of the combatants, they found that the bishop's champion had several sheets of prayers and incantations sown in his clothes.[3]

"Bishop of the Chapel-Royal."

In 1508 the bishop of Galloway became dean of the Chapel-Royal at Stirling, with "the care of the souls of the King and Queen, along with precedence in the Chapel;" and, on the king's solicitation, Alexander III., bishop of Rome, conferred on him the additional title of *Bishop of the Chapel-*

[1] Jusserand's English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages, 117.

[2] Bishop Mant's History of the Church of Ireland, i. 22. Ware's Bishops, 406.

[3] Jusserand's English Wayfaring Life, etc., 118.

Royal. Six prelates, in turn, held and enjoyed the united bishopric: George Vaus, the then bishop of Galloway, who, after the annexation, assumed the title of bishop of Candida Casa, and of the Chapel-Royal; James Beaton, who wore armor beneath his episcopal robes, and was, successively, archbishop of Glasgow and of St. Andrews; David Arnot, archdeacon of Lothian, provost of Bothwell, and abbot of Cambuskenneth; Henry Wemyss; Andrew Durie, abbot of Melrose; and Alexander Gordon, brother of George, earl of Huntly, who had been consecrated "archbishop of Athens," as some recompense for his disappointment in not being confirmed to the see of Glasgow. This is he who, later, joined Knox's party, and was appointed, by the Kirk, "superintendent" of Glasgow. As to the Chapel-Royal, located within the precincts of Stirling Castle, it is said to have represented a more ancient chapel dedicated to St. Michael. Its revenues were absorbed after the Reformation, and when the two kingdoms were united under James VI. it ceased to have any importance. A striking clock (the second in Scotland) was

one of the articles of furniture contributed toward its ornamentation by its founder, James IV. (1505); and three organs (*tria paria organorum, quorum unum de lignis, et duo alii de stanno sive plumbo*)—the choir, the great organ, and the swell—backed the chantor, the sixteen canons, and the six boy choristers in the musical rendition of the chapel services.[1]

His oath.

On the 7th day of February, 1530, Henry, bishop of Withern (Galloway) and of the Chapel-Royal at Stirling, on bended knees, and with joined hands placed between the hands of the most reverend father, the archbishop, made and offered his due obedience and manual reverence, as suffragan (Glasgow having been declared a metropolitan see, 1491, the bishops of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Galloway and Argyll became suffragans thereto), to the said metropolitan in this form:

"I, Henry of Withern and the Chapel-Royal of Stirling, bishop, now and henceforward swear and promise obedience and reverence for myself, as bishop of the

[1] Lawson's Scottish Episcopal Church, i. 3, 4.

church of Withern, and for that my church of Withern, and for the whole people and clergy of my see and diocese of Withern to you, Gavin, archbishop of Glasgow, my immediate metropolitan and to your successors canonically entering; save, however, remaining always uninjured, the privileges, exemptions, and indulgences foresaid granted me as bishop of the Chapel-Royal of Stirling, and to that Chapel. So help me God, and these holy gospels of God.[1]"

According to the *Roman Pontifical*, the bishops subject to the see of Rome still take, at the time of their consecration, the ancient oath, which, ever since its formulation, has made them "*sedis Romanæ vilissima mancipia.*" The following passages occur: "I will not be a party in any counsel, action, or treaty, which may in any way prejudice our lord, the pope, or the Church of Rome. All the injunctions, reservations, provisions, etc., of the pope, I will observe with all my might, and cause others to observe them. I will also, to the utmost extent of my ability, persecute and

[1] Cosmo Innes: Sketches of Early Scotch History, 497.

oppose (*persequar et impugnabo*) all heretics, schismatics, and rebels, to our said lord and his successors."[1]

[1] This persecuting clause may be withdrawn from peculiar circumstances, and restored by a change of circumstances.—Mendham's Literary Policy of the Church of Rome, 316.

XXII

MARTYRS

"And others had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonment; they were stoned, they were sawn asunder, were tempted, were slain with the sword; they wandered about in sheep-skins and goat-skins; being destitute, afflicted, tormented; they wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens and caves of the earth."—*Hebrews* xi. 36–38.

CHAPTER XXII

MARTYRS

43 A.D. to 62 A.D.

UNDER THE JEWS

S. James I. (the Greater), brother of S. John, and son of Zebedee and Salome, beheaded (43) by Herod Agrippa at Jerusalem, was the first Christian bishop to die for his testimony to Jesus.

S. James II. (the Less, as being smaller in stature, or because he was not one of the original apostles), surnamed "The Just," on account of his great piety and virtue, author of the Epistle that bears his name, and first bishop of Jerusalem, brother of Simeon, and Jude, and Joses ("brothers of the Lord"), son of Cleopas (or Alphæus) and Mary, called upon to deliver his opinion on the character of Christ in the pres-

ence of an excited crowd, was thrust down over the battlements of the Temple (one of whose towers he had mounted that he might be the better heard), stoned, and beaten to death with a fuller's club (Passover, 62) by his enemies, whom his advocacy of the divinity of Christ had disappointed and enraged.

64 A.D.

THE FIRST PERSECUTION—NERO

S. Paul, the earliest "missionary bishop," brother of Rufus (Rom. xvi. 13), and son of Simon of Cyrene, who bore the cross after Jesus (S. Mark xv. 21), was (66) beheaded at Rome.

In the same year S. Peter, brother of Andrew, son of Jona, was crucified at Rome with his head downward.

S. Bartholomew (*Nathaniel Bar-Tholemy*) was (71) flayed alive in Armenia.

S. Philip, of Bethsaida, was (80) hanged against a pillar at Hierapolis, a city of Phrygia.

S. Jude ("not Iscariot"), surnamed

Thaddæus, brother of S. James II., and son of Cleopas (or Alphæus) and Mary, a "brother of the Lord," was (80) shot to death by arrows in Persia or Armenia.

S. Mark, the companion of S. Paul the evangelist, the reputed founder and first bishop of the Church of Alexandria, is said to have been dragged through the streets of that city, and then to have been hurled into the sea from a high rock.

S. Andrew, brother of Simon Peter, was bound to a cross (X) by order of the proconsul of Achaia.

S. Matthew (Levi), one of the four evangelists, was slain by a sword in Ethiopia.

S. Matthias, a substitute for Judas Iscariot, according to tradition was first stoned and then beheaded in Colchis.

S. Thomas, surnamed Didymus, was run through the body with a spear at Coromandel.

95 A.D.

THE SECOND PERSECUTION—DOMITIAN

S. John the Evangelist, "the beloved disciple," was this year banished to the

isle of Patmos, where he was favored with the visions recorded in *The Apocalypse.*

Timothy, the first bishop of Ephesus, is said to have suffered under Domitian.

106 A.D.

THE THIRD PERSECUTION—TRAJAN

S. Simeon (the Zealot), the second bishop of Jerusalem, the successor of his brother, S. James the Less, the oldest and the last of the Apostles, is related by Eusebius to have been crucified (107) at the age of 120.

Phocas, bishop of Pontus, because he would not do sacrifice to Neptune, was cast into a hot lime-kiln, and next into a scalding bath, where he entered into life.

Publius, bishop of Athens, also suffered unto death during the continuance of this persecution.

Ignatius, a convert and pupil of "the beloved disciple," third bishop of Antioch, was exposed to wild beasts in the amphitheatre at Rome (107), and the bones that were left were taken to Antioch and de-

posited near one of the gates. This is he who was styled *Theophorus*, because he said he carried God within him.

Telesphorus, a Greek by birth, the seventh bishop of Rome, the successor of Sixtus I., after an episcopate of eleven years (128–139), "ended his life by an illustrious martyrdom," as Eusebius hath it.

About the same time, according to this historian (iv. 23), the soul of Publius, bishop of Athens, was torn from its body.

Marcus, the first gentile bishop of Jerusalem, was handed over to the public executioner about the year 150. He is commemorated at Adrianople on the 22d of October.

166 A.D.

THE FOURTH PERSECUTION—AURELIUS

Polycarp, consecrated bishop of Smyrna by his beloved "father in God," S. John the Divine, and supposed to be the "angel of the Church of Smyrna," for whom alone, of all the seven "angels," Jesus Christ had naught but words of praise, visiting Rome in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, was dis-

covered, arrested, examined, sentenced to be burnt, and expired (167) in the attitude and article of prayer.

Pothinus, bishop of Lyons, an aged man of ninety, was dragged through the streets, stoned, plundered, thrown into prison, where (177), after two days' confinement, he resigned his spirit into the hands of God who gave it.

199 A.D.

THE FIFTH PERSECUTION—SEVERUS

Irenæus, a disciple of Polycarp, the successor of the martyred Pothinus in the see of Lyons, a famous writer and theologian, summoned to choose between a cross and an idol, chose the cross, and (*circ.* 202) was nailed thereon.

Thraseas, bishop at Eumenia and Sagaris, bishop at Laodicea, also suffered at this time.

Urban I., bishop of Rome, dragged out of the catacombs in which he was hiding, and brought before the prefect of the city, was accused of having been the occasion of the death of the 5,000 martyrs of the

last reign (*sic*), and of having kept a vast amount of money that had been bequeathed to the Church (which had been distributed among the poor), and (230) summarily executed with the sword.

235 A.D.

THE SIXTH PERSECUTION—MAXIMINUS

Pontianus, the successor of Urban I. in the see of Rome, was banished to Sardinia in this year, where he died in the mines.

Next after him in the bishopric of Rome was Anteros, who, because he caused the acts and deaths of the martyrs to be written, was put to the sword, Maximinus being the judge.

Babylus, patriarch of Antioch, hearing of the intention of the governor, Numerian, to visit the church, repulsed him from the door as an idolator and murderer, for which (244) he was presently tortured and thrown into prison, where he expired.

250 A.D.

THE SEVENTH PERSECUTION—DECIUS

Fabian, the nineteenth bishop of Rome, the successor of the martyred Anteros, was the first to suffer martyrdom under Decius.

At the risk of his life Cornelius succeeded him in the episcopate, and, not long after, in death too, being first banished, and then executed.

Lucius (252), who had the courage to carry on the succession, likewise gained the martyr's crown.

Alexander, bishop of Jerusalem, a very aged man, was committed to prison and there died.

Babylas, bishop of Athens, also died in prison.

Nestor, bishop of Magida, in Pamphylia, refusing to renounce his religion, was nailed to a cross (251), whence he exhorted the spectators, and, as they knelt around him at his bidding, his voice leading them in prayers, as he uttered the final *Amen*, he gave up the ghost.

In the same year Decius, having come to

the city of Babylon, discovered there a bishop named Polychronius, who, disdaining to purchase his life at the expense of his soul, was beaten on the mouth with stones until he died.

257 A.D.

THE EIGHTH PERSECUTION—VALERIAN

Stephen I., the successor of the martyred Lucius in the see of Rome, was among the first to suffer martyrdom (257) under Valerian.

Sixtus II., the successor of Stephen I. in the see of Rome, was arrested the following year, in accordance with an order from Valerian, condemning to death all bishops, priests, and deacons, and decapitated in the Mamertine prison.

Hippolytus, bishop of Pontus, may have died the martyr's death, but certainly he was not torn to pieces at Ostia by being attached to the tails of wild horses, as Dollinger observes that this mode of punishment was not practised by the Romans.

Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, a lover of unity, but a victim of heresies and schisms,

after suffering banishment under Valerian, was (258) finally decapitated, outside the city wall, as he knelt in prayer.

Fructuosus, bishop of Tarragona, Spain, was surprised in bed by the officers of the court, and, refusing to sacrifice to the gods of Rome, was (259) burnt alive in the amphitheatre.

Zenon, bishop of Verona, it is related, was cruelly tortured and then executed.

Nemesianus, Felix, Lucius, another Felix, Litteus, Polianus, Victor, Iaderus, and Dativus, bishops in Northern Africa, were beaten and sent to work in the marble quarries. Some of them died from exposure, want, cold, and worn out with the unwonted labor. The banished Cyprian (257) wrote to them to comfort and sustain them in their trials.

Felix, bishop of Rome and a Roman by birth, was apparently led out to martyrdom in the year 274.

275 A.D.

THE NINTH PERSECUTION—AURELIAN

Euthychianus, bishop of Rome, of whom it is related, by some hagiologists, that "he,

with his own hands, buried three hundred and forty-two martyrs," is thought to have suffered martyrdom himself (283), and was laid in the cemetery of S. Calixtus.

Lucian, one of the companions of Dionysius, the apostle of Gaul, fell a victim (290) to the prejudices of the heathen to whom he was carrying the gospel, but he lives in history as the apostle of Beauvais, of which place he was bishop.

Hilary, bishop of Aquileja, in Northern Italy, refusing to sacrifice to the gods, was beaten with rods, burnt with red-hot coals, which were strewn on his back, covered with salt and vinegar, cast into prison and, on the morrow, slain (285) with Tatian, his deacon, and three other Christians then awaiting execution.

Ephraem, a bishop, commemorated March 7, was one of the martyrs (296) of the *Chersonesus*.

303 A.D.

THE TENTH PERSECUTION—DIOCLETIAN

Sabinus, bishop of Assisi, cast into prison by the governor of Tuscany and

commanded to venerate a little statue of Jupiter habited in a gilded mantle, dashed it on the ground instead, for which his hands were cut off; and subsequently (303), having converted the prefect and his household, he was executed with them by order of the emperor.

Felix, bishop of Tubzacene, in Africa, when all the churches of Syria, as Theodoret relates, were destroyed on that fateful Good Friday (303), refusing to give up the sacred books and parchments, was sent to the emperor, heavily chained, thrust into the hold of the ship, where he was four days without food or water, under the legs of the horses; and, on landing at Venusium, was slain with the sword on the 30th day of August of the same year.

Irenæus, bishop of Mitrovitz on the Save, in Pannonia (Hungary), esteemed death for Christ greater riches than mother, wife, and children.

Phileas, bishop of Thumis, in Egypt, unmoved by threats or entreaties to do sacrifice to idols, was executed (303) in Alexandria, along with the tribune of the guard, who had spoken in his behalf.

Felix, the aged bishop of Spoleto, where the persecuting emperor's palace was situated, was examined by Diocletian himself, and then tortured with fire and decapitated.

Philip, the octogenarian bishop of Heraclea, in Thrace, was tortured, scourged, imprisoned, dragged by his feet over the streets of the city, beaten with rods till his bowels gushed out, and then burnt at the stake, where he gave thanks to God till his voice was hushed in death.

Victorinus, a Greek, bishop of Pettau, in Upper Pannonia, *episcopus Pitabionensis*, a Biblical scholar of some repute, whose commentaries on Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Isaiah, Ezekiel, Habakkuk, Ecclesiastes, the Canticles, and S. Matthew once edified the Church, but of whom we have nothing now save a treatise on "The Creation of the World," is set down by Jerome as a martyr of this period.

Narcissus, bishop of Gerona, driven from his see, wandered, homeless, with his deacon, for the space of nine months, when, returning to Spain, he was assassinated (*circ.* 308) by the heathen whom he was attempting to evangelize.

Methodius, bishop of Olympus and Patara in Lycia, and, later, of Tyre, an implacable opponent of Origen, against whose theology he wrote "De Resurrectione"—large fragments of which have been preserved, was martyred (311) at Chalcis.

Theodore, bishop of Cyrene, in Lybia, was (311) brought to trial by his own son, who charged him before the Roman governor with being a Christian, and, when ordered to offer incense before an altar, struck the idol with his shoes, which he held in his hand; whereupon his tongue was cut out, and, after excruciating sufferings on the rack, was finally released by death.

Hesychius, a bishop of Egypt, the earliest Christian scholar, so far as is known, to revise the text of the Greek Bible (the Septuagint and the New Testament), fell a victim to the persecuting fury of the emperor.

Quirinus, bishop of Sissek, on the Save, in Croatia, was cast into the Raab with a millstone around his neck because he would not throw a little incense on the fire to the gods.

Clement, bishop of Ancyra, was torn

with hooks, and had his teeth and jaws broken with stones.

Januarius, bishop of Benevento, was decapitated at Puteoli.

Erasmus, bishop in Campania, had trial of cruel mockings, and met the fate of Antipas.

Philonides, bishop at Curium, in Cyprus, found a martyr's death at home.

Anthimus, bishop of Nicomedia, was beheaded, as Eusebius (viii. 13) relates.

Tyrannio, bishop of Tyre, was tormented and thrown into the Orontes.

Sylvanus, bishop of Emesa, Phœnicia, after an episcopate of forty years, was devoured by wild beasts in his own city.

Sylvanus, bishop of Gaza, was condemned to the copper mines in Arabia, and subsequently beheaded there with thirty-nine other witnesses.

Pochumius, Theodore, Peleus, and Nilus, Egyptian bishops all, closed their career by martyrdom.

Peter, bishop of Alexandria, who fifty years before had been a sufferer with Dionysius in the Decian persecution, was now (312) seized by the express order of the

emperor and beheaded. There is a legend that he was the last victim of this persecution in Alexandria.

SPORADIC

Licinius—320–323

Blasius (S. Blaise) was bishop and martyr at Sebaste (*circ.* 320), and is commemorated by the Latin, Byzantine, and Armenian Churches.

In the year 322, Basil, bishop of Amasea in Pontus, was scourged and decapitated because he had given shelter to a beautiful Christian maiden named Glaphyra, on whom the emperor Licinius had cast lustful eyes, and whom he was determined to debauch.

Julian—361–363

Donatus, bishop at Arezzo, in Tuscany, is calendared as a victim of the pagan reaction of this reign.

Timeotheus, bishop of Prusa, to whom two churches at Constantinople are dedicated, is also set down in various meno-

logies as having suffered martyrdom under this paganized emperor.

Theodoret and Sozomen both relate the sufferings (*circ.* 361) of Mark, bishop of Arethusa (*not* the Mark of Arethusa, one of the leaders of the Arians from the time of Constantine), "an aged and virtuous prelate," who, having destroyed an idolatrous temple during the reign of Constantius and erected a Christian church in its place, was commanded, by edict, to rebuild the temple, or to defray the expenses of its reconstruction. Unwilling, as well as unable, to do either, he delivered himself up on hearing that, during his flight, others had been arrested in his stead; and, once in the hands of his enemies, he was dragged through the streets, stripped naked, covered with blows, thrown into fetid sewers, pierced with knives and writing implements by the school-boys of the city, thrust into a basket after being anointed with a kind of pickle and with honey, and, suspended where the heat was most excessive, was left to the attacks of wasps and bees; but his fortitude won him release.

But the emperor was not a persecutor.

"A Christian until the age of twenty, he was influenced by the religion he renounced, and retained the moral precepts of Christianity in his memory." [1] Certainly, his vivisection of Basil, a priest of Ancyra, was not in accord with his humane and justice-loving spirit.

309–349

THE PERSIAN PERSECUTION

In the menology of Basil the Macedonian (867–886), Bishop Milles is commemorated as a martyr November 13. This is he who, originally a soldier in the Persian army, abandoned it and became a spiritual leader in the Church Militant. But when the inhabitants of his city would not hear him, he departed, uttering imprecations against them, taking nothing with him but the holy Book of the Gospels.

The same menology also assigns February 20th to the commemoration of Sadoc, a bishop, and his one hundred and twenty-eight companions, all of whom suffered

[1] Schmidt's Social Results of Early Christianity, 413.

death (345) under the famous Sapor II., whose "reign lasted seventy-one years, and was marked by bloody wars with the Roman emperors Constantius and Julian, the latter of whom was defeated and slain (363) in the contest."

In the year 343, Narses, bishop of Sciarchadata, was beheaded at the age of four-score years, because he would not do homage to the sun, at the command of Sapor; and John, metropolitan of Beth-Seleucia, was stoned to death.

Symeon, the son of a fuller, coadjutor, originally (316), to Papas, bishop of Ctesiphon, and, later, his successor, accused to Sapor of being in correspondence with the Romans, was ordered to adore the sun, and, when he would not, was (344) decapitated with a hundred other Christians—bishops, presbyters, and clergy of all grades.

Sozomen (II. 13) declares that over sixteen thousand men and women, whose names had been ascertained, were martyred under Sapor; and he gives the names of twenty-three bishops: Barbasymes, Paul, Gadiabes, Sabinus, Mareas, Mocius, John,

Hormisdas, Papas, James, Romas, Maares, Agas, Bochres, Abdas, Abdiesus, John, Abraham, Agdelas, Sapor, Isaac, Dausas, and Mareabdes, *chorepiscopus*, who had been captured with about two hundred and fifty of his clergy.

350–523

ARIAN PERSECUTIONS

Paul, bishop of Constantinople, the champion of the Nicene Faith, in the enforced absence of Athanasius, was first banished to Pontus by Constantine, at the instigation of the Arians; then, after his restoration, sent in chains to a castle on the Tigris; then, after a few years' repossession of his see, sent to die at Cucusus, in Armenia, where, according to Athanasius, the agents sent by the Arian party seized (*circ.* 350) and strangled him.

Eusebius, a Sardinian, educated in Rome by its bishop Eusebius, elected to the see of Vercelli by an unanimous vote of the people and the clergy, a zealous pleader for the Godhood of Christ, refusing

to yield to the Arian tendency of the council of Milan (355), was banished by Constantius, first to Scythopolis, then to Cappadocia, and then to the Thebaid; and, though he regained his liberty on the death of the emperor, he was ultimately stoned to death (371) by his adversaries.

Eusebius, bishop of Samosata, on the Euphrates, disguised as a soldier, travelled through Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, exhorting the Church and consecrating priests, in the reign of Valens, by whom he was banished (373) to Thrace; on whose death (378) he returned; and, "while engaged in the reorganization of the Syrian Church, he was killed (379) at Dolica by a stone thrown at him by an Arian woman."[1]

Quodvultdeus, bishop of Carthage, in the vth century, at the time of the conquest of North Africa by the Arian Genseric, was torn from his see by the Vandal conqueror, placed on board of a ship, naked, in company with many of his

[1] The details of the Arian persecutions under Valens (364–379) are to be found in the ecclesiastical histories of Theodoret, Socrates, and Sozomen.

clergy, and, despoiled of all personal property, left to make their way, as best they could, to Naples. There Quodvultdeus died.

A little later, in the general persecution of the Catholics under Huneric, the son of Genseric, the Vandal king in North Africa, Felix, bishop of Abbirita, paralzyed and incapable of speech or walking, and Cyprian, bishop of Uniziba, accompanied by nearly five thousand other Catholic clergy and laymen, were banished to the Libyan desert, where, lacking food and shelter, and wasted by wild beasts, "they lingered out a miserable existence, till death ended their sorrows, and translated them to a glorious immortality."

Two years later (484) Huneric issued an edict closing all the churches in Africa, and transferring all ecclesiastical property to the Arian prelates and clergy. The bishops, who had been summoned from all parts of Africa to attend the conference at Carthage, were driven out of the city, their horses taken from them, banished, part of them to labor in the fields, and others to Corsica, to hew wood and build ships. Of

the 466 who attended the conference, eighty-eight died, forty-six were shipped to Corsica, three hundred and two to other places, twenty-six fled and escaped, and eighty-eight turned Arians. One of them, Lætus, a prelate especially obnoxious to Huneric, by reason of his zeal and eloquence, was burnt alive.

Marcellus, bishop of Die, in France, at the end of the VIth century, was thrown into prison by the Arians, where he died from cold and want.

THE BAPTIST REDIVIVUS

Herculanus, bishop of Perugia, when that town was besieged by Totila, king of the Goths, in 549, inciting the inhabitants to contend for their homes and city, was condemned by the conqueror to suffer the loss of a strip of skin the length of his entire body, and then to be decapitated; but the commander of the expedition humanely beheaded him first, and then cut the thong of skin, as demanded by the prototype of Shylock.

Prœtextatus, bishop of Rouen, was

stabbed in church on Easter morning (586), by an assassin hired by the ferocious Fredgund, whom he had offended, and whose murderous plans he had thwarted, and, being carried to his bed, he died, having received the Eucharist at the altar, to which he had staggered, his hands dabbled with blood.

Desiderius, bishop of Vienne, having taken the infamous Brunehaut to task for marrying her brother-in-law, became the victim of a royal persecution, which resulted in his assassination by three hired highwaymen (608), who pelted him with stones and then killed him outright.

Kilian, the apostle of Franconia, an Irish missionary, pointing out to the Duke of Würzburg the impropriety of the marriage he had contracted with Geilana, his brother's wife, became the object of the furious hate of the barbaric duchess; and so it came to pass that one night, in the year 689, in the absence of Gozbert, the prelate was felled to the earth, decapitated, hurriedly put under the ground, and his clothes, vestments, sacred books, and crosses interred there with him.

Lambert, bishop of Maestricht, of noble family and apostolic labors, gave his life (709) a ransom for his nephews, who had killed two men of a neighboring clan, and whose murder was avenged by a red-handed attack upon the innocent prelate. The site of the martyrdom at Liége was presently covered over with a church, and there Grimoald, son of Pepin, was killed (714) while praying for his sick father. Thither, in 727, the relics of Lambert were translated from Maestricht, and the see also, and the saint became patron of the city that grew up around his cathedral.

Rumold, an Irish missionary bishop, attempting the conversion of Brabant, fell a victim (775) to the hatred of a party whom he had rebuked for violation of the seventh commandment.

At the opening of the next century, a monk of Amabaric, Scotland, Tanco by name, going into Hanover in quest of his former abbot, who had been made bishop of Verden, was presently elevated to that self-same see, his friend, Patto, dying; and, castigating the savage and licentious

manners of the day, was quickly despatched by a barbarous and maddened mob.

Alphege, bishop of Winchester (984), primate of all England (1006), was taken by the Danes, after their capture of Canterbury, on board their ships (1011), and, because he would not allow the king and his people to be taxed to raise the three thousand pounds set for his ransom, they led him to the hustings on the eve of Sunday, the octave of Easter, as the Saxon Chronicle relates, and "pelted him with bones and horns of oxen, and one of them struck him with an axe-iron on the head, so that he sank down, and his holy blood fell on the earth, and his holy soul he sent forth to God's kingdom."

Toward the close of the same century, Stanislaus, the inheritor of great wealth, which he renounced for the service of the Church, canon in the cathedral of Cracow, Poland, and elected in 1072 to the bishopric of the city, again and again confronted the cruel and profligate king, Boleslaus II., threatening him with excommunication if he did not cease his atrocities. On one of these occasions (1079), the latest Herod,

in a paroxysm of rage, sent servants after him to murder him; and, when they were afraid to harm him, overawed by his sanctity, he himself rushed after him, and, finding him in the chapel of St. Michael, outside the city wall, fell upon him with the sword, cut open his head, multilated his face, and gave him over into the hands of his attendants, who hacked the body and cast it into a field.

In the XIITH century Henry, the founder and ruler of the Finnish Church, the archbishop of Upsala, a zealous but intolerant missionary, was assassinated on account of the heavy penance he had imposed upon a person of great authority, who had been guilty of manslaughter; but he was canonized by Adrian IV., and he lives in history as the apostle of the Finns.

Engelbert, archbishop of Cologne, preeminent in his age for wisdom, purity, and earnestness of purpose, regent of Germany during the absence of the emperor (1220) on his crusade, and fearless in his suppression of rapine and violence, became suddenly aware that he had gained the implacable hatred of the

country, who, organizing a conspiracy against him, presently waylaid him (November 7, 1225), cut his head open, ran him through with a sword, hacked him with their axes, and left him dead with forty-seven wounds.

John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, a friend of Reuchlin and Erasmus, the only English prelate bold enough to hold that Henry's marriage with Catharine of Aragon was valid, fell under the royal displeasure, and, at last, on the charge of denying the king's supremacy, was (1535) beheaded.

MARTYRED MISSIONARIES

In the year 755 Boniface, the living Bible, the quickening preacher, the Saxon missionary, the regionary bishop, the baptist of 100,000 pagans, the apostle of Germany, the founder of the German Church, and its metropolitan, seeking, at the age of seventy-five, to evangelize the heathen not yet reached in Frisia, was murdered, with fifty-two companions, by a mob of idolators; under his head, as he lay awaiting the fatal blow, a volume of the Gos-

pels, and rolled up in the shroud he had brought with him, in anticipation of a martyr's end, a copy of St. Ambrose on "The Advantage of Death."

Eulogius of Cordova, elected archbishop of Cordova in 858, a zealous champion of Christianity in its contest with Islamism, was beheaded the following year, because he had been instrumental in the conversion of a Moorish girl.

Leo, archbishop of Rouen, solicitous for the conversion of infidels, resigned his diocese, and made his way into Bayonne, where (900) he was one day killed by some pirates, who had been banished from the town by the better class of citizens.

Adalbert, archbishop of Prague, finding it impossible to serve the Church *and* the emperor, at last, after a third visit to Rome, obtained permission from pope and king to devote the remainder of his life to the conversion of Slavonia; and, going to Poland, founded the Church there; whence, crossing the Baltic, he made his way into heathen Prussia, but only to find death near; for, treading accidentally one day on one of their holy shields, he was

seized and bound, and (April 23, 997) cut in pieces, while in the act of prayer for his murderers.

Bruno, a regionary bishop, following in the track of the martyred apostle of Prussia, organized a band of Christian heroes to carry the Gospel among the Sclavonic races of Prussia, but they would none of him, and fell on his little band, and (1008), hacking off the leader's hands and feet, put him and his eighteen associates to death.

Anskar, who died 865, lives in history as the apostle of Sweden. But long before the XIth century the Swedes had relapsed into their former heathenism. On the accession of Olaf Scobkongr, the English Church, at the request of the new king, sent missionaries to Gothland, among whom was Sigfried, archdeacon of York, who had offered himself for the work, and had been consecrated bishop. To him the king gave ear, and, after baptism, made over to him, for a church, the royal castle at Husaby, which, consisting of huge halls, with sleeping apartments on each side, and doors at both ends, was soon made to assume the appearance of a cathe-

dral; and there Sigfried resided, till he had effected the conversion of West Gothland, dying (1045), apparently, in the fulness of time. But not so his chaplain, Eskill, who had come with him from England, and whom he had consecrated bishop. This man, remonstrating with the heathen king, Sweyn, who had driven out the Christian dynasty, and had come with his people to Stregnas, near to the Malar Lake, to offer the usual sacrifices to Thor, Odin, and Freyr, was struck with a stone by one of the royal followers, and laid prostrate; in which position he received a blow from an axe, which sheared off his crown, and then dragged to a convenient spot, where he was pelted to death with stones.

In the opening year of the XIIIth century, Peter Paschal, bishop of Granada (1262), bishop of Jaen (1269), having exasperated the Moors by his success among their captives, was imprisoned, and, when he issued from the prison a work unfriendly to Islamism, he was condemned to die, the sentence being carried into effect January 6, 1300.

1553–1558

THE MARIAN PERSECUTION

John Hooper, of Merton College, Oxford, a Cistercian, a famous preacher, consecrated to Gloucester (1551) with the understanding that he would be required to wear the obnoxious clerical vestments on public occasions only, was thrown into prison, August 29, 1553, where he contracted sciatica; condemned in January, 1559, for his advocacy of clerical marriages, for his defence of divorce, and his denial of transubstantiation; and burnt at the stake in Gloucester, February 9, 1555, where he endured great agony, as the green fagots would not burn quickly, and had to be rekindled three times.

Hugh Latimer, son of a devout yeoman, fellow of Clare Hall (1509), "as obstinate a papist as any in England" at the time of his graduation, royal chaplain, incumbent of West Kington, Wiltshire, bishop of Worcester (1535–1539), in the Tower 1546, where he was "kept without fire in the frosty winter," according to his own state-

ment, released on the accession of Edward VI., though he would not accept another bishopric; was again committed to the Tower (September, 1553), with Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Ridley; convicted of heresy, excommunicated, and sentenced to death, for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation, and the sacrifice of Christ in the Mass; and, on October 16, 1555, was led to the stake, in front of Balliol College.

Nicholas Ridley, fellow of Pembroke (1522), student at the Sorbonne, Paris (1527–29), king's chaplain and master of Pembroke Hall (1540), prebendary of Canterbury (1541), prebendary of Westminster (1545), bishop of Rochester (1547), bishop of London (1550), was committed to the Tower, July 26, 1553, thence removed with Latimer to the jail of Bocardo, Oxford, where he was burned with this good friend before Balliol Hall, sentenced on the same charges.

Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge (1511), consecrated to Canterbury, 1533, Henry's stout ally in getting rid of four of his wives, regent for Edward VI., champion of the claims of

Lady Jane Grey; tried on the counts of treason and heresy, and condemned on the second, six times humiliated himself, when promised life and liberty if he would recant; publicly repented of his recantations, when he stood a prisoner, condemned, in St. Mary's Church, Oxford; and was burned the same day (March 21, 1556), his right hand, which had offended, being held in the flames to be burned first.

Robert Ferrars, student at Cambridge and Oxford, bishop of St. David's from 1548, "a rash and indiscreet man," according to Burnet, "a man of large humanity, justice, and uprightness," in Froude's eyes, was deprived of his see on the accession of Mary, condemned for heresy, and burned at Carmarthen (March 30, 1555), when he was also felled to the ground by a blow on the head.

John Hamilton, the last archbishop of St. Andrews of the ancient line, who had been captured by the regent on the 2d of April, 1671, in the castle of Dunbarton, was hanged at Stirling four days later, a martyr to religious and political animosity.

On the third of May, 1679, James Sharp, archbishop of St. Andrews of the Anglican succession, a man "temperate and upright in private life, liberal in his charities, and exemplary in the performance of his ordinary duties," a convert from Presbyterianism to Episcopacy, was barbarously murdered by a party of fanatics, some of whom had a personal quarrel with him, being hacked and perforated by their swords, which, they said, they drew on him "because he was an enemy of the Gospel, a murderer of the saints, and a betrayer of the Church."

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5. NUMBER OF CONSECRATORS.
6. LAYMEN RAISED TO EPISCOPATE.
7. DEACONS RAISED TO EPISCOPATE.
8. CHOREPISCOPI.
9. COADJUTOR BISHOPS.
10. REGIONARY BISHOPS.
11. TITULAR BISHOPS.
12. SUFFRAGAN BISHOPS.
13. MONASTERY BISHOPS.

Bishops without a Diocese.

14. EPISCOPAL ANTECEDENTS.
15. MARTIAL PRELATES.
16. POLITICIANS AND STATESMEN.
17. Ἀλλοτριοεπίσκοποι.
18. EPOCH-MAKERS.
19. MISSIONARY BISHOPS.
20. EPISCOPÆ.

The Churchman says of it (under date April 14, 1894):

"Mr. Reed has brought together a mass of curious learning which is certainly entertaining and suggestive. It can hardly be said to establish any new theories in regard to the Episcopate, but it shows at once the elasticity of the Church, and its strong conviction of the necessity and permanence of that order. . . . Many of the facts here given will probably be new to most of the readers of this volume—they certainly are

to us; and there is an implication that what is here given is only a selection of the most striking points from a very large field of like information. We trust that Mr. Reed may be encouraged by the success of this work to follow it up with another of the same sort."

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Professor Chas. W. Shields, D.D., of Princeton College, N. J., describes it as—

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Dr. Wm. Pepper, Provost of the University of Pennsylvania, terms it the—

"Valuable book on The Bishops," and adds: "It was a happy thought, and has put in attractive form a great deal of desirable, but, to most of us, inaccessible information."

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